

# THE JERUSALEM POST

EIGHT PAGES  
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The New York Times  
WEEKLY REVIEW

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## Nimrodi remanded for 7 days

RAINE MARCUS

OFER Nimrodi, publisher and editor of *Ma'ariv* and owner of Hachsharat Hayishuv, suspected of commissioning wide-scale wiretapping, was remanded for seven days by the Petah Tikva Magistrate's Court yesterday. Lawyer Motti Katz, suspected of suborning witnesses and obstructing justice by paying accused wiretappers Rafi Friedman and Ya'acov Tsar to keep quiet about their connection to Nimrodi, was also remanded for seven days. Friedman was also arrested yesterday, after new evidence implicating Nimrodi in commissioning wiretapping and obstructing justice was discovered, police sources said last night. Friedman has already been indicted on 39 counts of wiretapping. Nimrodi was arrested Saturday morning at Ben-Gurion Airport, as he was about to leave for Switzerland. Police suspect that he ordered wiretaps from Tsar and Friedman, at first by himself, then via his security officer David Ronen.



President Bill Clinton and his wife Hillary plant a memorial tree yesterday at the White House.

## Second suspect arrested in Oklahoma City bombing

OKLAHOMA CITY (AP) — An army deserter was taken into custody yesterday in the bombing of Oklahoma City's federal building, but the government said he is not the square-jawed, dark-haired suspect pictured in a FBI sketch flashed around the world. David Iniguez, who was "absent without leave" from Fort Riley, Kansas, was picked up in San Bernardino, California, in connection with the attack, Justice Department spokesman John Russell said yesterday. But Russell said Iniguez is not the second suspect pictured in the composite sketches, and he did not know whether he would be formally placed under arrest. Meanwhile, President Bill Clinton planted a tree of remembrance yesterday for the victims of the bombing as his administration pledged to rebuild the demolished federal building and restore services.

On a designated national day of mourning, the president and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton emerged from the White House, both wearing black, and walked hand-in-hand to the South Lawn. They then took turns shoveling dirt into a hole prepared for the commemorative dogwood. After standing silent for a few moments, they boarded a helicopter and departed for Oklahoma City for a prayer service in remembrance of those killed.

The death toll in the worst bombing in US history stood at 78 yesterday, with 150 people still missing and feared dead. More than 400 were injured in Wednesday's blast, caused by thousands of kilos of homemade explosives packed into a rental truck. On Friday, the FBI arrested what it said was the first of the two suspects pictured in the sketches: Timothy McVeigh, a 27-year-old former soldier with far-right political views. He was charged with taking part in the attack. McVeigh, like Iniguez, served at Fort Riley, as did Terry Nichols, one of two brothers being held as material witness in the attack.

The FBI said McVeigh had been enraged by the federal assault on a religious cult compound at Waco, Texas, which occurred exactly two years before the bombing. The source said that Iniguez and another man had deserted from Fort Riley at the same time within the past month. The source described the two men as "radical in their thinking" and said one had explosives training. The source refused to identify the second man. The government has said it will seek the death penalty. "Extremist groups growing in US," Page 2. Eyewitness account, Page 4.

## Tragedy transcends religious boundaries

HILLEL KUTTNER  
WASHINGTON

THROUGH sermons, collections, and prayers, Washington-area houses of worship expressed their concern this weekend for the victims of Wednesday's Oklahoma City bombing. At St. Mark's Catholic Church in Vienna, Virginia, parishioners held a special offertory prayer yesterday to plead for the welfare of both the injured and those seeking to rescue people trapped in the wreckage of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. The congregants also took up a collection that will be forwarded to Oklahoma City, church member Kathleen Garrity said. Rev. Wesley W. Bowden of Washington's Union Wesleyan African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church said he asked for prayer "on behalf of families who have lost loved ones." Bowden said he "raised the issue of violence in the hearts of people, which leads to criminality." At St. Sophia's Greek Orthodox Cathedral,

Father John T. Talvarides spoke of how the shedding of innocent blood in Oklahoma was at complete odds with Christ's sacrifice to redeem mankind, an aide said. In his Passover sermon Friday, Keshet Israel Congregation's Rabbi Barry Freundel stated that the splitting of the Red Sea occurred at midday, to expose the Egyptians' complicity in enslaving the Jews. Likewise, he said of the Oklahoma City tragedy, "sometimes there are moments that reveal the emptiness and the evil at the core of a group's ideology." The synagogue plans to take up a collection for the victims, Freundel said. As it frequently does following a natural disaster, B'nai B'rith offered itself as an address for relief aid. While it is too early to tell how much has

been contributed for the latest victims, such campaigns have generally "done well," said the organization's spokesman, Dan Mariaschin. "We find that often, people who are Jewish relate to giving to a Jewish organization through which to channel their contributions — like Catholic Charities (for Catholics)," he said. At Sunday school classes, educators anticipated questions about what happened last week. "We've tried to give some guidance to our religious schools, tried to set this in perspective, to help kids understand there are evil people in the world, but that most people are good," said Rabbi David Saperstein, of the Reform movement's Religious Action Center. "For Jewish kids, more than most, this isn't entirely new, because every time a tragic situation occurs in Israel or Bosnia or Rwanda, we talk about it."

## Over 2,000 killed in Rwanda camp

News agencies

KIGALI, Rwanda — UN troops in Rwanda found the bodies of over 2,000 Hutu refugees in the Kibeho camp yesterday and the country's president tried to absolve government troops from blame for the carnage. Tens of thousands of exhausted survivors from Saturday's shooting and panic stampede at Kibeho were being force-marched yesterday by the army to Butare, 20 kilometers away. At least 2,000 refugees were killed and 2,000 wounded when soldiers fired into crowds on Saturday at the camp in southwest Rwanda, said UN officials, who were trying to arrange an evacuation of the area. A UN soldier at the camp said the soldiers opened fire on the refugees with automatic weapons, rocket-propelled grenades, and mortars. Prime Minister Faustin Twagiramungu, speaking on Radio RTBF in Belgium, promised there would be sanctions if an investigation showed the soldiers planned the attack. The UN initially put the casualty toll at 5,000 dead and 2,000 wounded. But last night, Lt. Kent Page, the UN military spokesman in Kigali, sharply revised his estimate downward to about 2,000 killed, with an estimated 600 more wounded. President Pasteur Bizimungu's claim that only 300 died at the camp was contradicted by all the senior UN officials in Rwanda, as well as foreign witnesses. Radio Rwanda said yesterday that "criminals" inside the Kibeho camp had provoked clashes with security forces. UN officials and aid workers reported more gunfire at the camp yesterday. Red Cross spokesman Christophe Wiser

said there was an undetermined number of new casualties. "I think there were some more deaths, but it will be difficult to know how many. It's impossible to do a body count," he said. The camps in the area, initially set up by French troops, once housed 250,000 people. Most of the refugees are Hutus who fear Tutsi reprisals for the slayings of about 500,000 people — mostly Tutsis — that began a year ago. The refugees fled last July when Tutsi-led rebels overthrew the Hutu-dominated government. Tens of thousands of the refugees streaming out of Kibeho have taken refuge at the soccer stadium in Butare or at a UN post in the city. However, Ray Wilkinson, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' spokesman in Nairobi, said Rwandan authorities have decided to force all those refugees to return home. Rain turned the road leading from the camp into a nearly impassable quagmire. Trucks and buses sent to help evacuate the refugees could get no closer than 16 kilometers from the camp. Saturday's shooting began in the morning, when refugees, seeking cover from the rain, tried to run through a cordon of soldiers surrounding the camp. "This spooked the soldiers, and they started firing into the crowd," Wilkinson said. UNHCR said soldiers first fired on the panicked crowd with automatic weapons. Then the army apparently started receiving small arms fire from inside the camp, presumably from Hutu militiamen. "They [the soldiers] responded to that with heavy mortars. As the confusion then became total chaos and panic, a large number of people, mostly women and children, were trampled to death," said Wilkinson.

## Rabin: PA-Hamas deal unacceptable unless it ends terror

HERB KEINON

ISRAEL will not accept an agreement between Hamas and the Palestinian Authority unless it includes a total cessation of terror attacks, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said yesterday. "We will not accept agreements between the PA and the extremist terror organizations, Islamic Jihad and Hamas, if they do not include [cessation of] all activity from PA territory and in PA territory," Rabin said at a Hebrew press conference. He said any agreement that would lead to an end of terror inside areas supervised by the PA, but would allow attacks inside Israel or in Judea and Samaria would be unacceptable. Rabin toured the Hebron area

yesterday with Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, and received briefings from senior IDF officers on the security situation in the area following last week's killing of three Hamas activists. Rabin said the security forces will also get to the other murderous cells in the area. He said the fact that Pessach passed without an attack is testimony to the "wise and determined" policy of the security services. Rabin met a number of leaders of the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, who termed the meeting "business-like." Elyakim Ha'etzni, a member (Continued on Page 2)

## Harish recalls business group from Morocco

Jerusalem Post Staff

INDUSTRY and Trade Minister Micha Harish decided yesterday to recall a group of industrialists who went to Morocco to participate in a packaging exhibition, after their product samples were confiscated last week by the Moroccan customs authorities, as reported exclusively yesterday by *The Jerusalem Post*. The group was to attend an exhibition of packaging products and by-products on behalf of the Israel Export Institute. All efforts made to obtain the release of the display, by the Foreign Ministry, Harish and David Dado, the head of the Israeli interest section in Morocco, failed. The Moroccan authorities then said the Israelis could present their products, but not under the auspices of the IIEI. Harish said both countries should ensure that such incidents do not recur.

## Jordanian dentists who treat Israelis will face expulsion from union

Jerusalem Post Staff and news agencies

JORDANIAN dentists who treat Israelis will face expulsion from the national union for helping to normalize ties with Israel, the association said in Amman yesterday. Association president Saed Abu Maizer said the warning was in response to Israeli newspaper reports that visitors to Jordan were taking advantage of the relatively cheaper cost for dental services in the kingdom. *The Jerusalem Post* reported last week that hundreds of Israelis had made trips to Amman for cheap dental care. A filing costs about 10 Jordanian dinars (NIS 44) compared with NIS 120 here. The Health Ministry said it could not prevent people from seeking treatment in Jordan, but could not recommend such treatment. It is impossible to know how careful Jordanian dentists are in sterilizing their equipment to prevent the spread of hepatitis B and AIDS. "We are reminding our 2,800 members of a decision adopted by the association in August, that warned them not to deal with any Israeli individual or institution," Abu Maizer told *The Associated Press*. "Any member who violates this decision will be referred to a disciplinary council for punitive action, which may include expulsion from the association," he said. Abu Maizer, who had no figures on how many Israelis have sat in Jordanian dentists' chairs, conceded that "it is difficult to pinpoint every case" involving a violation. Similar warnings have been issued by associations of writers, doctors, lawyers, artists, engineers, pharmacists and journalists, all opposed to normalizing ties with Israel. King Hussein has warned the associations to stay out of politics and stick to issues that directly affect their members.

Paris (AP) — Socialist Lionel Jospin surprisingly finished yesterday in the opening round of France's presidential election, benefiting from infighting that divided the more powerful right. Among rival conservatives, Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac, the pre-election favorite, narrowly defeated

Premier Edouard Balladur for the second spot and will be favored over Jospin in the May 7 runoff. Even with only a fraction of votes officially counted, Balladur conceded he was eliminated and urged conservatives to back Chirac in the second round. Story, Page 4

## Maccabi TA wins another hoops title

MACCABI Tel Aviv swept to another national championship with a 95-80 romp over Hapoel Galil Elyon at Yad Eliahu last night. Before a packed house, Maccabi roared to its second straight title, its 25th championship in the last 26 seasons and its 35th overall. Full report, Page 10



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# Jerusalem yeshiva student stabbed near Old City

BILL HUTMAN

AN Arab stabbed a yeshiva student outside the Damascus Gate to Jerusalem's Old City yesterday, lightly injuring him, before throwing the knife to the ground and fleeing.

Police said they had a detailed description of the attacker. But he was still at large last night.

Dozens of Arab bystanders were detained immediately after the attack for questioning, then released.

Elihu Gabai, 38, a student at Shuvu Banim Yeshiva in the Muslim Quarter, was walking just outside on Rehov Hanevi'im with a friend, when he was attacked from behind and stabbed several times in the back.

Gabai went to a nearby policeman for help, and was taken to Hadassah-University Hospital, Ein Kerem, where he was reported in good condition.

Also yesterday, an Old City man caught a policeman off guard in a Temple Mount bathroom and stole his loaded pistol.

A massive manhunt was launched, and four of the man's relatives were detained for questioning and his home searched.

The thief apparently followed the policeman into the bathroom, and stole the pistol when he put it down to use the toilet, the police spokesman said. The policeman saw the man as he fled, but was unable to stop him.



Police take in for questioning the brother of a man who allegedly stole a gun from a policeman yesterday. (Brian Hender)

## PA election talks to resume in Cairo in two weeks

ALON PINKAS

ISRAELI and Palestinian negotiators are scheduled to meet next month in Cairo to resume negotiations on the elections to the Palestinian Authority council and the IDF's withdrawal from Arab cities and towns in Judea and Samaria, Foreign Ministry sources confirmed yesterday.

The sources declined to comment on the possibility that Foreign Minister Shimon Peres will attend the meeting, or that Environment Minister Yossi Sarid and Police Minister Moshe Shal will participate.

If the talks are not held at a ministerial level, the Israeli delegation will include Planning

Branch Head Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan, Coordinator of Activities in the Territories, Maj.-Gen. Ora Shohor and Foreign Ministry legal adviser Yoel Singer.

A diplomatic source in Jerusalem said the target date is May 7, but the final date will be set only after substantive differences are narrowed. At the meeting, both sides will assess whether the July 1 deadline for Israeli redeployment prior to Palestinian elections can be met, the source said.

Palestinian negotiator Nabil Shaath said Saturday that the negotiating teams would discuss overall progress on Palestinian elections and Israeli troop redeployment.

## Peres begins three-day visit to Jordan today

ALON PINKAS

FOREIGN Minister Shimon Peres will today begin a three-day visit to Jordan, highlighted by his participation in the "Jordan Rift Valley" conference in Amman.

Tomorrow, Peres is to meet Crown Prince Hassan, Prime Minister Ziad Ben-Shakr, and Foreign Minister Abdul Karim Kabriti.

Israel, Jordanian, and American officials and businessmen will attend the conference, which is

devoted to joint development projects in the valley, such as a road system, and water utilization, environmental, and communications projects. The main project on the agenda is the proposed Dead Sea-Red Sea canal.

The conference was organized by the US Commerce and Development Agency, and is considered a preparatory session before the October Amman business conference.

## 'NY Times': Extremist groups growing in US

MARILYN HENRY

NEW YORK

SOME two dozen self-styled militias have appeared in the US in the last decade, the *New York Times* reported yesterday.

The most extreme elements have been energized in the last two years by the actions of the Branch Davidian cult, 70 of whose members died in a fiery encounter with federal agents in Waco, Texas, rather than surrender. That standoff occurred on April 19, 1993—exactly two years before last week's Oklahoma City bombing.

Identified as extreme libertarians who distrust the federal government and reject its policies, groups with names like the Patriots, the White Aryan Resistance, the Order, the Aryan Nation, and Posse Comitatus, may operate in as many as 47 of the 50 states, according to the Southern Poverty Law Center.

"The common thread that unites the 300 some-odd groups we watch, and which brings a little cohesiveness to an otherwise disconnected movement, is an extreme hatred for the federal government," said Danny Welch, director of the center's Klanwatch in Montgomery, Alabama.

The paramilitary groups tend to see the US government as an

authoritarian, and they are vehement opponents of gun control and income taxes, experts say. Racial and antisemitic rhetoric are less conspicuous elements.

"I have told people for years, at least since 1984, when the Order declared war on the central government of the United States, that the government of this country—we call them criminals—had better start listening to the dispossessed white people, the dispossessed majority," Tom Metzger, head of the White Aryan Resistance, told reporters.

The current American political climate, with its attacks on gun control and the size and scope of the federal government, may have encouraged the militias and made them more attractive, Welch said.

Militias are strong in at least nine states—Montana, Idaho, Colorado, Michigan, Texas, Missouri, Tennessee, Florida and Pennsylvania—experts say.

The Michigan Militia, which reportedly has ties to suspects and witnesses in Wednesday's bombing, has denied involvement in the Oklahoma blast.

"Our stand in the militia is defensive," Ray Southwell told the *Times*. "This obviously had nothing to do with defense."

## Eizariya to get water restored after bill-payment plan settled

BILL HUTMAN

AN Arab village on the outskirts of Jerusalem, which has gone without water for over a week because it didn't pay its water bill, is likely to have the spigots turned back on today by the civil administration.

Eizariya council leaders and civil administration officials met yesterday and agreed on a timetable for the payment of the village's NIS 600,000 debt, civil administration officials said.

The council also paid part of the debt, and the civil administration agreed to turn the water back on, the officials said.

About 10 days ago the water was cut off in Eizariya, a village with over 30,000 inhabitants just east of Jerusalem, after the water bill, paid to the civil administration, had gone unpaid for six months, the officials said.

Residents had to purchase water from tankers that drove through the village periodically, or go to friends and relatives in Jerusalem and nearby villages for

water.

"My brother would bring us water from time to time, but for the most part we just had to try and make do with a cistern filled with rain water that was not suitable for drinking," said 43-year-old Samir Abu Rami.

A few residents have wells, and shared their water with other residents.

"I don't know about the others, but I pay my water bill, so there is no reason that my water should have been cut off," Abu Rami said.

The civil administration officials said their contract for water was with the local council. Residents who pay their bills should complain to the council for not using the money to pay the town's bill, they added.

The officials noted that the policy of shutting off water in severe cases of non-payment also prevailed within the Green Line.

## Multilateral trade panel resumes in Cairo this week

Jerusalem Post Staff

TRADE committee meetings of the multilateral economic negotiations resume this week in Cairo, and will continue discussions of trade options and regional cooperation that were raised in the previous round of committee meetings in January in Bonn.

A German research firm is to present a survey of business risks and opportunities in the region, which it prepared at the request of the German government, the Trade and Industry

Ministry said yesterday.

Also to appear are representatives of the Arab-German Trade Bureau, which studied possibilities for reducing trade barriers in the region.

A report by the US firm Deloitte Touche, on suggestions for establishing the regional economic council agreed upon at the economic conference at Casablanca, will also be presented. The report was commissioned by the trade committee and funded by the US government.

## Adam Baruch likely to be 'Davar' editor

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

THE chances that *Globe* editor Adam Baruch will become the new editor-in-chief of *Davar* are increasing, despite the objections of the Histadrut-owned newspaper's journalists.

*Davar's* action committee is negotiating with the Histadrut over the transfer of the newspaper to its journalists, who will own and operate it. Another candidate for the post is Razi Guterman, director-general of the Federation of Israel Journalists and former economic editor of *Ma'ariv*, who is considered the journalists' choice. However, the workers' preference will not determine the issue, sources close to the negotiations said yesterday.

The journalists oppose Baruch's candidacy, mainly because he demands the prerogative to choose which of *Davar's* incumbent journalists will continue working and which will be fired.

Last week, *Davar* editor-in-chief Dr. Yoram Peri sent his letter of resignation to Histadrut Chairman Haim Ramon. Managing Editor Danny Bloch is also expected to resign shortly. At the beginning of next week, *Globe's* director-general Eli Shimon intends to present to the Histadrut leaders an evaluation of Baruch's chances of survival.

## RABIN

(Continued from Page 1) Binyamin Regional Council head Pinhas Wallerstein told Rabin that if armed Palestinian policemen patrol the streets in Judea and Samaria, residents will be called on to act on the principle of "if anyone comes to kill you, kill him first."

Elkana Local Council head Nissan Slomiansky, who said he attended the meeting for two reasons. "First, we wanted to tell him of the dangers to little Israel if the IDF withdraws, and we also wanted to let him know, not through the media or through demonstrations, that we will do everything to oppose such a move."

"I told him that we are building an infrastructure, including spiritual leaders and people from within the Green Line, to oppose withdrawal," Slomiansky said. "I told him such a move would divide the country."

## NIMRODI

(Continued from Page 1) "I was convinced there was new evidence obligating me to comply with police demands."

Timen added that he took Nimrodi's status into consideration, but that he had no choice but to remand him.

"Avi-Yitzhak has said that if released, Nimrodi will not disrupt the investigation, but in fact he is suspected of obstructing justice," he concluded.

Katz said in court that money he transferred to Friedman was intended for his family during "difficult times," and denied that payments were "silence money."

His attorney, Moshe Aloni, blasted police methods and said Katz's arrest was conducted in contravention of regulations laid down by the Israel Bar Association.

Police found tapes at Katz's home which allegedly incriminate him.

Katz himself interrupted proceedings by exclaiming: "It's a disgrace that in a supposedly democratic country, a lawyer with a glorious past and present in serving both the legal system and the IDF should be accused of obstructing justice."

Timen ruled that Katz's remand was essential to prevent further obstruction of justice.

This morning, David Ronen and private investigators Micha Rotem, Eli Gershoni, and Ze'ev Laufer will face remand hearings.

Meanwhile, Sara Friedman, secretary of the National Federation of Israel Journalists, and herself a *Ma'ariv* employee, demanded "the resignation of any member of a newspaper's management if allegations against him prove to be correct."

Rachel Netman adds: Shares in Hachsharat Hayishuv plunged 10 percent on the stock exchange yesterday, following Nimrodi's arrest.

Tsur: Experienced, amicable, clever, Page 12

DRIVE CAREFULLY!!

## NEWS IN BRIEF

**Channel 2: Rabin to seek pardon for Pollard**  
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin will ask President Clinton to pardon convicted spy Jonathan J. Pollard when he visits the United States next month, Channel 2 reported yesterday.

It said Rabin believes Pollard is unlikely to be granted parole during his upcoming hearing in November, 10 years after his arrest.

Government spokesman Uri Dromi refused to confirm or deny the report, saying the Pollard issue must be "handled discreetly." Rabin's spokesman, Oded Ben-Ami, would only confirm Rabin would visit the US next month. AP

**Pessah closure lifted this morning**

The closure imposed on the territories over Pessah was lifted this morning at 4. The general closure policy will continue, however.

Residents of the territories with entry permits will be permitted to cross the Green Line. This includes some 26,750 workers, all married men older than 30, and a small group of medical professionals, employees of international organizations, workers at foreign diplomatic missions, and others given permits for humanitarian reasons. Itim

**Arafat: Israel sought Palestinian state in Sinai**  
Israel once proposed establishing Palestinian statehood in the Sinai, Israel Television yesterday quoted PLO leader Yasser Arafat as saying.

Arafat reportedly told Israeli left-wingers in Gaza City that former prime minister Menachem Begin had made the suggestion during negotiations over returning the peninsula to Egypt.

MK Ze'ev Binyamin Begin, however, denied the claim, the report said. He likened it to Palestinian claims that Israeli agents were behind some of the recent suicide bombing attacks. AP

**Haj to Mecca delayed**

Administrative difficulties may delay the departure from Israel and the territories of Moslem pilgrims bound for Mecca in Saudi Arabia.

Yesterday, it was agreed that pilgrims from the territories will be given the Jordanian transit passes, which will also be given to the Israeli Moslems. Before, the Saudis were insisting that the 4,000 pilgrims from Judea and Samaria and the 2,800 from Israel all travel on Israeli passports, but the government objected.

The agreement reached yesterday was achieved through the intervention of US officials acting as intermediaries between the Israelis, Jordanians, and Saudis.

However, since the Saudis have not finished stamping the Jordanian passes, the group cannot leave earlier than tomorrow, Religious Affairs Ministry officials said. Itim

**Drora Havkin dies**

Drora Havkin, a popular Tel Aviv singer-songwriter in the early 1970s, died at her home in Rosh Pina yesterday of heart failure. She was in her late 50s. Havkin released two albums in 1970 and 1971. *Songs of the Street I and II*. She devoted much of the last 10 years to working on her extensive garden.

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Tuesday, October 10. Succot, 1995

To Mike Shtolwert and family  
We mourn with you the passing of your

**SISTER**

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נרדף דיין אמת

With great sorrow, we announce the passing of  
**NANETTE LASSON - KAPUSTIN**

beloved mother, grandmother and sister  
The funeral took place in Baltimore, MD,  
on Sunday, April 23, 1995.

Her daughter, Eleanor L. Berkowitz, is sitting shiva  
at 9/6 Meir Yoshea St., Pisgat Ze'ev, Jerusalem. Tel. 02-560781



Yeshiva University Joint Israel Program

and Israel Alumni Association

mourn the loss of their dear friend and colleague

**JACK NUSSBAUM**

Respected member of the Yeshiva University administration  
The funeral will take place on Monday, April 24, at 1 p.m.  
at the Shargar Funeral Home, Romema, Jerusalem,  
followed by burial at Har Tami.

May we, his family and friends, be consoled among the  
mourners of Zion and Jerusalem.



NEW YORK UJA - FEDERATION

We extend heartfelt condolences to the Mayor of Ramle,

Yoel Lavi,

on the passing of his beloved

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מכאן לאחרי







# Socialist Jospin wins French poll

PARIS (AP) — Socialist Lionel Jospin surprisingly finished first yesterday in the opening round of France's presidential election, benefiting from infighting that divided the more powerful right.

Among rival conservatives, Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac, the pre-election favorite, narrowly defeated Premier Edouard Balladur for the second spot in the May 7 runoff. Opinion polls swiftly predicted he would beat Jospin by at least a 56-44 margin, but yesterday's outcome gave a new air of unpredictability to the campaign.

Balladur conceded elimination and urged supporters to back Chirac in the second round. Chirac, addressing downbeat backers at headquarters, said the divided right "can reassemble and go forward together."

Far-right voters showed their strength, giving Jean-Marie Le Pen of anti-immigrant National Front his best-ever showing of more than 15 percent. That result could give Le Pen leverage in the runoff campaign, but he said either finalist would continue "the disastrous policies" of the past two decades.

For the 40.1 million registered voters, the election was the initial step in choosing their first new president since Socialist Francois Mitterrand took office in 1981. Mitterrand, 78, gave only lukewarm backing to Jospin, but this may have helped the candidate avoid being seen as a continuation of a now-uninspired administration.

Jospin, a former education minister, was expected to receive about 23 percent of the vote. Chirac was projected to get about



Paris Mayor and presidential candidate Jacques Chirac casts his vote yesterday at Sarraon. (AP)

20 percent, and Balladur 19 percent.

"You have created conditions for hope," Jospin told cheering supporters at his headquarters.

**Exit polls give Berlusconi slight edge**  
ROME — Silvio Berlusconi's cen-

ter-right coalition given slight edge in Italian regional elections, state television exit polls showed.

Italy recorded a strong turnout yesterday in regional elections which are an important test of national political support, official figures showed.

The figures, compiled from provincial returns, showed 47

percent of eligible voters had cast their ballots by 5 p.m. compared with 37.4 percent at the same stage of previous similar elections in 1990.

Some 43 million Italians, 90 percent of the national electorate, are eligible to vote in the elections, which are for presidents and assemblies in 15 of Italy's 20 regions and for new councils in 75 provinces and more than 5,000 towns.

The elections are the first major test of support since the resignation as prime minister last December of media magnate Silvio Berlusconi, who has said he will press for a snap general election if his center-right Freedom Alliance coalition wins.

**Nagasaki Mayor Defeated**  
TOKYO — The outspoken mayor of Nagasaki became one of the latest casualties yesterday of Japanese voters looking for change.

Hitoshi Motoshima, 73, lost to 49-year-old opponent Ichio Itoh in Nagasaki. He was among 17 mayoral incumbents defeated as voters nationwide chose 86 mayors, 375 city assemblies, 328 towns and village chiefs, 1,064 town and village assemblies, 15 Tokyo ward chief executives and 22 Tokyo ward assemblies.

The voting came two weeks after voters in Japan's two largest cities dealt a harsh blow to mainstream parties, electing independent former television entertainers as mayors in Tokyo and Osaka.

Trends were not so clear-cut this time. All 86 mayoral winners were independents, but some were supported by both the governing and opposition sides of the national government.

# Man stabs doomsday cult leader

TOKYO — An ultra-rightist stabbed the second-highest ranking official of the doomsday cult linked to the Tokyo poison gas attack yesterday on a street outside the sect's headquarters in the capital, police said.

Hideo Murai, the head of the Science and Technology unit of the Aum Shinri Kyo (Aum Supreme Truth) sect, was stabbed three times, twice in the stomach and once in the arm, with a kitchen carving knife.

The attack came as Japanese

media reported police believed they now had enough evidence to link key members of the sect to the March 20 subway gassing.

Kyodo news agency said police planned to arrest 20 more sect members this week on charges of conspiracy to commit murder.

Murai, 36, was undergoing surgery for wounds in his abdomen and a cult spokesman told reporters at the hospital that Murai was in serious condition, the public television network NHK reported. The department Murai headed

has been linked to its chemical research, but he has appeared on television to deny that the cult ever has produced sarin, the nerve gas used in the March 20 subway attack that killed 12 people and sickened 5,500 others.

Police arrested a man they identified as Hiroyuki Jo, 29, a member of a rightist organization. NHK said Jo, a South Korean living in Japan, told police "I tried to give him punishment" because of trouble caused by the cult. (AP, Reuters)

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### 8 held in Pakistan kidnapping

KARACHI (AP) — Armed kidnappers have taken eight hostages, including airline workers, and demanded a ransom of 10 million rupees (\$320,000) in Larkana, the rural hometown of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, officials said yesterday. The unidentified kidnappers also killed a driver Saturday night when they stopped four vans carrying airline passengers and crew from the Moenjodaro airport to the town of Larkana, some 300 kilometers north of Karachi.

### Youth charged in 2 deaths

SAN ANTONIO (AP) — A 12-year-old girl has been charged with murder in the suffocation deaths of a 2-year-old girl and her 4-month-old brother. Investigators said the girl used a pillow to smother Renee Alicia Gutierrez and her brother, Timothy Manuel Gutierrez. No motive was given. The bodies were found Jan. 6 in an apartment the infants' parents had been sharing with the girl's brother and other relatives. The 12-year-old was being held at a Bexar County juvenile detention center. Her trial was scheduled for Aug. 7.

### 15,652 killed in China traffic

BEIJING (AP) — Traffic accidents killed 15,652 people in China and injured another 36,885 in the first quarter of 1995, according to statistics published yesterday. Accidents on China's roads are taking a growing economic toll, with the 61,227 accidents recorded in January-March costing more than 389 million yuan (\$46.2 million) — a 45 percent increase over the same period of 1994, the official newspaper Legal Daily reported.

### Taiwan and China to cooperate

TAIPEI (AP) — Chinese officials will visit Taipei for meetings on joint oil exploration, the first such discussions held in Taiwan since the Communist takeover in China in 1949, a newspaper reported yesterday. The United Daily News quoted unidentified officials of Taiwan's state-run Chinese Petroleum Corp. as saying the discussions would be held during a three-day oil seminar in August.

### US airlifts supplies to Vietnam

HANOI (AP) — Twenty years after the United States airlifted frantic refugees from collapsing South Vietnam, a US organization flew 50 tons of medical supplies back into Vietnam yesterday. The supplies will be distributed to about a dozen hospitals and clinics in north and south Vietnam in a potent gesture of reconciliation one week before the April 30 anniversary of the defeat of US ally South Vietnam and the end of the Vietnam War.

### Turkish jets hit Kurds

ANKARA (AP) — Turkish jets pounded rebel positions as troops engaged Kurdish guerrillas in a new clash in northern Iraq, reports said yesterday. While the Turkish jetfighters bombed the rebel positions, reinforcements moved into northern Iraq from the Turkish border town of Cukurca, the newspaper Hurriyet said. Col. Dogu Silahcioglu, the military spokesman, refused to comment on the story, saying "our operation is under way in northern Iraq."

# Little hope of finding bomb victims alive

OKLAHOMA CITY (AP) — Americans observed a day of mourning yesterday for victims of the worst terrorist bombing in American history.

Rescue workers with feeble hope of finding more survivors continued poring through the rubble of the federal building early yesterday, inching toward a buried child-care center.

"At this point, it would almost be a miracle" to find anyone alive, Assistant Fire Chief Jon Hansen admitted as they neared the spot in the wreckage where they expected to find more young victims.

"The firefighters are picking up toys and looking at them and handing them to each other," said Hansen, clutching a red plastic fire truck.

The searchers worked beneath floodlights in a chilly rain. At one point, work was halted while repairs were made to a threatening crack opening in the building's wall.

Bombing suspect Timothy McVeigh was in the El Reno Federal Correctional Center

pending court hearings Thursday. McVeigh, who turned 27 Sunday, was charged Friday night with "malicious damaging and destroying by means of an explosive a building or real property, whole or in part, possessed or used in the United States."

The government has said it will seek the death penalty.

Brothers Terry Lynn Nichols, 40, and James Douglas Nichols were ordered held as material witnesses in separate court appearances.

The Detroit News reported that authorities searching the Michigan farm of James Nichols, an associate of McVeigh who was being held as a witness in the case, found blasting caps, safety fuses and diesel fuel. Some of the materials were similar to those used in the Oklahoma bombing, the newspaper said.

In Arizona, the Mohave County sheriff's office said it was trying to determine whether a bombing about 10 miles southwest of Kingman two months ago had any connection to

McVeigh. The bomb, placed about 25 meters from the back porch of an occupied house, blew its windows out. No one was injured.

McVeigh lived in a Kingman trailer park from February to June of 1994 and listed a Kingman mail drop as his address in court documents filed in Oklahoma. Sheriff's deputies said they didn't know whether he was there when the bomb went off.

Federal agents are also investigating ties between McVeigh and an Arizona paramilitary group, the New York Times reported yesterday. Dozens of agents have descended on Kingman and the surrounding high desert which is a training site for the self-styled Arizona Patriots paramilitary militia, the newspaper said.

The desert around Kingman has been used numerous times for training, including the use of explosives, by the Arizona Patriots and other right-wing groups who oppose gun control, taxes and other forms of government control, the Times said, quoting government sources.

# 'Like a dozen sonic booms'

EYEWITNESS in OKLAHOMA CITY

NOAH W. HUTCHINGS

Special to The Jerusalem Post  
AT 9:05 a.m., we heard a sharp, deafening roar, like a dozen sonic booms. The ground shook and our building cracked.

Since our office is near the flight pattern of the Will Rogers World Airport, I assumed a plane had crashed near by. We saw a column of dark smoke rising at a distance to the east. The radio announcer reported that some type of explosion had occurred in front of the Federal Building downtown.

I drove into the area on Lincoln Boulevard, with screaming police cars and ambulances speeding past me. When I attempted to turn toward the Federal Building, a policeman waved me away.

I signed in at the clinic where I had an appointment. A call came over the intercom for persons with certain types of blood to report to the blood bank across the street. As I came out of the clinic to go to the blood bank, at least a hundred adults had already lined up. Ambulances were coming in with the wounded — men, women and children with clothes blown off their bodies and bloodied from head to toe. Some were being taken in on stretchers with clothes on their faces to soak up the blood.

The explosion resulted in total or partial destruction in a four square mile downtown area. Major damage forced the closing of the Post Office. One of the banks where we do our banking was also shut down. Workers in downtown offices were asked not to report for work.

The extent of the horror slowly became known. Between 400 and 500 hurt, with the eventual death toll estimated to reach above 200.

One young woman had to have a leg amputated on the spot, to extricate her from the rubble. Some of the dead may never be found and identified as they, along with furniture, were blown out the opposite side of the building.

Others were buried under tons of steel and concrete as the nine story building pancaked. The Social Security office was the closest to the explosion on the main floor. At that time in the morning, there would have been many seniors present to apply for or check on Social Security payments or Medicare. The child day-care center for Federal employees was located just above on the second floor. Anguished, distraught parents were wandering everywhere, seeking information about their children. At least 12, possibly many more children had died.

Two days later, I was informed that I was receiving death-threat calls from in other states. Our 30 minute program is heard daily over more than 80 stations across the United States, over 40 stations in Central and South America in Spanish, and over short-wave. Since the ministry was founded in 1933, our doctrinal position is that the land of Israel rightfully belongs to the Jews. We have had many friends in Israel on our program, and I am used to getting threatening calls from Moslem or Islamic elements in the United States.

The callers were exceptionally vicious. They accused me in vehement and obscene terminology of being anti-American, anti-Catholic, and anti-European. They stated loudly that they would get rid of me so that I could no longer preach a JEW-world, and they even made

threats against my daughter Carol, who is an on assignment in Israel. They also indicated that I was partly to blame for the bombing of the Federal Office Building with my Jew-World-Order. We made cassette copies of the threats and gave them to the Oklahoma City Police, with copies for our files. It is evident these men represent anti-Israel, pro-Nazi views and possibly even organizations or cells with similar views or objectives. Whether these calls had any relation to, or connections with the events of April 19, we don't know.

When the hideous revelations of death, suffering and broken bodies emerged from the dust and smoke in the remains of the Federal Office Building, Oklahomans reacted without hesitation and without panic. No one cried out for the Federal Government to do the work; Oklahomans got to work themselves. Certainly, all Oklahomans are grateful for the firemen, engineers, medical assistance, and monetary help that poured in from other states.

The entire downtown area was devastated; windows in store fronts were knocked out; a 25-story, relatively new massive high-rise apartment complex, two blocks from the explosion, was so structurally damaged that occupants had to evacuate immediately. Many not even having time to take their pets. Yet there was no looting, no confusion. Oklahomans acted with dignity, honor, compassion, charity, and dispatch. Oklahoma City will bury its dead, care for the wounded, and pray for the surviving families. And hope for the future.

The writer has a Christian radio ministry based in Oklahoma City.

**PROJECT ODED**  
OF THE CENTER FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM  
**Yom Hashoah Seminar**  
Thursday, April 27, 1995 (27 Nissan 5754)

9:00 a.m. Introduction - Rabbi Edward S. Romm  
9:15 a.m. "Confrontation with 'Hurban' and Tragedy in the Talmud, 1st and 2nd Centuries" - Dr. Pesach Schindler  
10:45 a.m. "The Anguish of Decision: Halacha and the Shoah" - Barbara Sutnick  
12:00 noon Conclusion

The public is invited.  
Project Oded is a Jewish Agency Funded Program  
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Administration and Organization Division  
Purchasing Department

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A. The Israel Airports Authority hereby invites quotations for the supply of Distance Measuring Equipment (D.M.E.) for Elit Airport.

B. Proposals may be submitted only by manufacturers of D.M.E. equipment.

C. Every proposal must be accompanied by either an unconditional bank guarantee in the amount of 5 percent of the total offer, or a banker's check in said amount.

D. Proposal documents can be obtained from the Purchasing Department at Ben-Gurion International Airport, Main Passengers' Terminal, 2nd floor, Room 234, until May 11, 1995.

E. Proposals should be submitted in two copies and placed in the tenders box in: Archives, Israel Airports Authority, Main Office, 2nd floor, Room 317, Ben-Gurion International Airport 70100, Israel.

Proposals must be submitted no later than May 18, 1995 at 10 a.m.

F. The Israel Airports Authority is not obligated to accept the lowest or any proposal.

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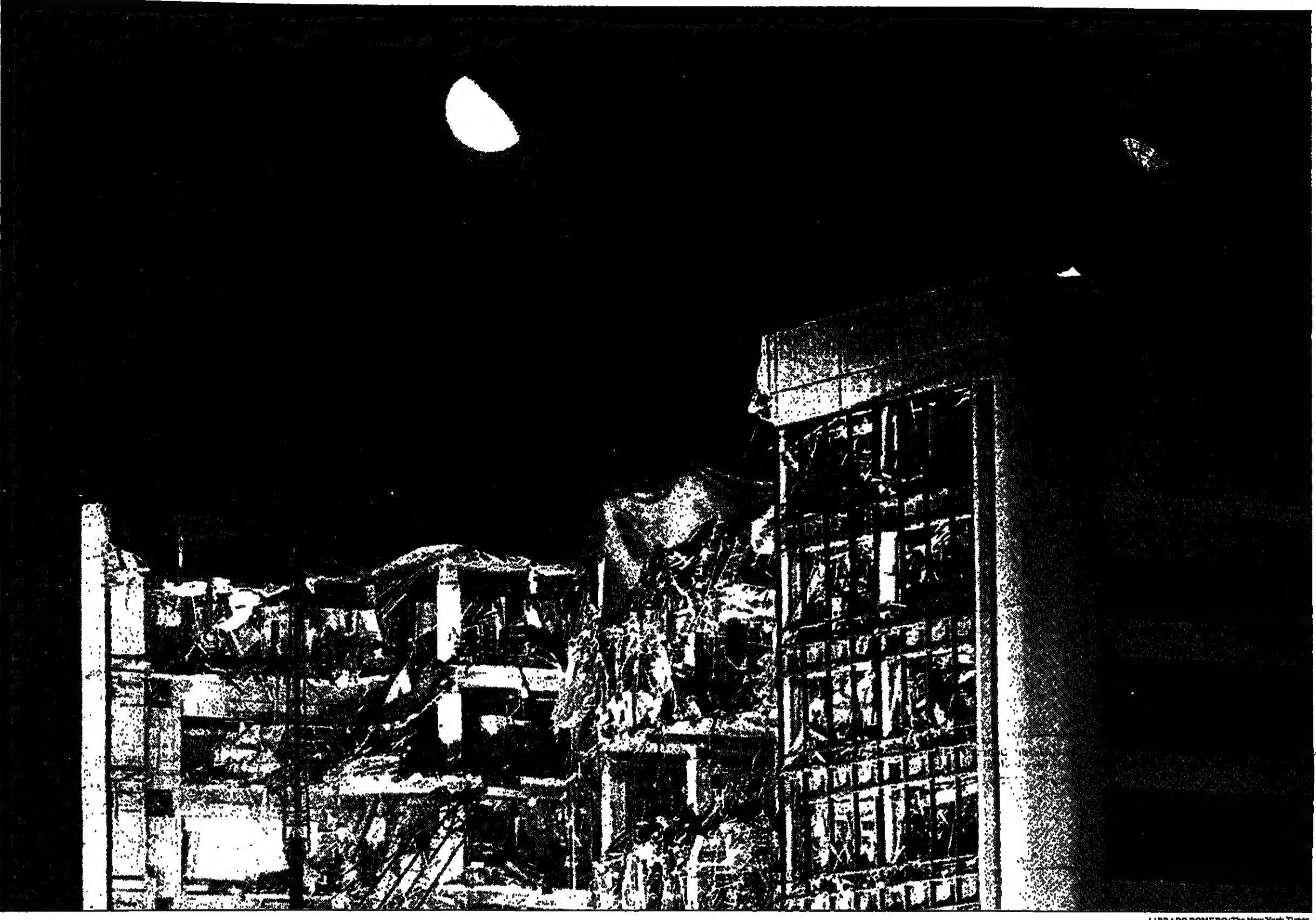






# Exposed

## Again, Bombs in the Land of the Free



In the early-morning hours on Friday, nearly two days after the explosion, the lights of rescue workers burned at the Federal building in Oklahoma City. Scores of people were still missing.

LIBRADO ROMERO/The New York Times

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

**A**S Federal agents closed in on suspects in the Oklahoma City bombing, the challenge remained of finding some collective way to understand and respond to a horrific episode of domestic terrorism. More than the solution of one terrible crime, this is the test of an open society: how to find some solid ground for the battered national psyche, some equilibrium between oppressive vigilance and terrifying vulnerability as the country looks in the mirror and sees the signs of an ever more violent future.

The trajectory of a wrenching and dizzying three days began with the public's widespread belief that foreign agents, probably Islamic militants, were responsible for the bomb that shattered a Federal office building and killed scores of people in the worst incident of terrorist violence on American soil. The prospect was terrifying: pictures of the shattered building evoked images of Beirut, or of what the World Trade Center could have looked like had the Islamic radicals who bombed it two years ago been more adept.

Then, by the end of the week, came the sickening evidence that the enemy was not some foreign power, but one within ourselves. An international conspiracy may be harder to neutralize, but a homegrown menace is ominous for its own reasons.

### 'Against Our Own Family'

"In a way, that is more scary to contemplate," Dr. Robert Coles, the Harvard University psychiatrist and social historian, said in an interview. "For something so symbolically frightening, people crave an explanation that gives some sense of security. We know this country can handle external enemies, but for one of our own to strike a blow against the Federal Government, against our own family, is very unnerving, very frightening."

President Clinton's statement that the bombing was "an attack on the United States, our way of life, and everything we believe in" caught the mood of the day, no matter what the nationality of the conspirators. So did the sentiment, widely expressed by people on the

street and media commentators, that after such a ruthless attack on the nation's heartland, "life in America will never be the same."

But what of the days, months and years ahead? Will life change here as it has in other societies torn by terrorism?

Part of the answer depends on the price that people are willing to pay to minimize the chance of terrorist violence, whatever its source. The question is not new: passing through metal detectors at airports is now as routine as flashing a boarding pass to the gate attendant.

Nor is violence a novelty here. The fringe world of paramilitary groups that may have nourished the

### In an open and armed society, anguish over the power of terrorists.

Oklahoma City suspects has long existed at the margins of a heavily, even casually armed society. People in big cities struggle to deal with a level of everyday, garden-variety violence — some 1,600 murders last year in New York City alone — that Europeans find appalling. Metal detectors are now appearing in urban high schools.

Such measures are tame compared to those that people have learned to accept in countries where terrorism is a fact of life. In Israel, security guards for years have routinely checked people entering shopping malls, movie theaters, even supermarkets, subjecting bags and briefcases to searches that Israelis regard as protective rather than invasive.

After a half dozen suicide bombings by Palestinian terrorists killed 65 people in the last year, many Israelis avoid buses when they can. Some have simply stopped going to the movies, to shopping malls, or where large groups gather. But as those incidents demonstrate, even the Israeli Government's intensive and sophisticated security apparatus can provide no guarantees.

In this country, where the threat of terrorism has

seemed far less immediate, it is certainly possible to make many of the 8,000 Federal office buildings more secure than they are. Security experts offered many suggestions last week, some of which had already been put into effect at the United States Capitol, some Federal courthouses and other high-profile locations during the 1980's, when threats of foreign terrorism were legion.

### Concrete at the Door

These measures include concrete barriers to keep vehicles at a distance from buildings, as well as devices buried in driveways that can be activated to impale and lift up passing cars — as they did to the cars of some members of Congress when the devices were first installed.

Large and visible security forces also help. Rockefeller Center increased security following the World Trade Center bombing, and its officials are pleased with the results. "A million people came through the flower show this year and not one pansy was stolen," Michael Julian, the vice president for protection and public services at Rockefeller Center, said last week.

But Rockefeller Center's measures, which included turning part of a street into a pedestrian mall and installing cameras in the underground garage, were designed to preserve the open and inviting feel of the complex. "We could shroud our buildings in steel and concrete, but it would no longer look like Rockefeller Center," Mr. Julian said.

And as another expert, John T. Horn of Kroll Associates, a private security firm based in Manhattan, said in an interview: "No system is totally foolproof. A dedicated terrorist who has access to a building can bring in a cupful of explosives every day until he is ready to blow it."

Because prevention through physical barriers can never be enough, some law enforcement experts stressed last week that the most effective way to combat organized terrorism lay in seeking advance knowledge of crimes through good intelligence work, infiltrating suspect groups and cultivating informers. The Government has achieved some notable successes with these methods. But the approach has its own dangers, particularly to the civil liberties of people who

come under suspicion because of their associates or their ideas.

The country's record of solicitude toward civil liberties during times of perceived threats, internal or external, is spotty, to say the least. During the notorious Palmer raids in 1920, named for President Woodrow Wilson's attorney general, A. Mitchell Palmer, who directed the operation, Federal agents and local police fanned out in 33 cities and arrested some 6,000 people, including several thousand aliens, suspecting of being Communists. In Hartford, anyone who came to the city jail to visit a jailed suspect was also arrested, on the theory that any visitors must also have Communist affiliations.

Attorney General Palmer, whose own house near Georgetown had been damaged in a frightening wave of anarchist bombings a few months earlier, justified the raids as necessary to protect the country against violent plots. But agents found only three guns and no explosives, and most of the Palmer raid suspects were quickly released.

The raids were among the more dramatic incidents in an era marked by waves of xenophobia. Among the era's legacies were the immigration quotas of the 1920's, which sharply limited immigration from southern Europe, thought to be the leading exporter of terrorists.

One legacy of last week's events may well be passage of the Omnibus Counterterrorism Act, a Clinton Administration-sponsored bill that would permit the Government to refuse to disclose the sources of damaging evidence it uses in deportation proceedings. Civil liberties groups argue that the bill would violate the constitutional right to confront one's accusers.

If it becomes law, the bill may make the country marginally safer from foreigners, like those now on trial in New York on charges of conspiring to blow up the United Nations headquarters and other public buildings. But it is hard to imagine legislation that could save the nation from bombs made from garden fertilizer, planted by determined home-grown terrorists with mass murder on their minds. If any good at all can be wrenched from the Oklahoma City tragedy, Dr. Coles said, it would be "to get a discussion going about violence in its increasingly dangerous manifestations, about the craziness of hate."

**Those People**  
Ugly American politics emerges from an anti-immigration mood.

By Nathan Glazer

2



**Capitalism's Allure**  
Searching for its identity, Poland is beside itself.

By Jane Perlez

4

**Power Hungry**  
As the West shuns nuclear energy, the East embraces it.

By Philip Shenon

3



# The Nation

## Debate on Aliens Flares Beyond the Melting Pot

By NATHAN GLAZER

THE immigration debate is becoming more and more agitated.

We have now seen the passage of Proposition 187 in California, depriving illegal immigrants of public benefits and the passage in the House of Representatives of welfare reform measures that would deprive legal immigrants of some benefits.

Peter Brimelow's "Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster" raises sharply for public debate the issue of the racial and ethnic character of current immigration, until now discussed only privately, if at all. Last week's deadly bombing in Oklahoma City, too, focused attention on Middle Eastern immigrants and their political activities, though the guilt turned out to lie elsewhere.

Undoubtedly, our immigration laws will be undergoing serious revisions again. The atmosphere of the debate will be less benign and less constrained than in the 1980's.

But why? Haven't we been through all this before? Haven't we had anti-immigration movements every few decades or so,

### Money, welfare and race define the latest conflict.

since the founding of the Republic, and didn't we decide, with the immigration reform of 1965, that this is, and should be, a country of immigration, open to the world without restrictions of origin, race or ethnicity? Yes, but it is also true that every time anti-immigration sentiment rises, there is something new as well as much in the way of prejudice, ethnocentrism and racism that is old.

#### What's to Fear?

It is true that Irish Catholics were looked upon as unassimilable 150 years ago, Jews and Italians and Slavic peoples were considered so in the 1920's and are now indistinguishable in their integration into a common American society and culture from the oldest settlers. What then do we have to fear from an immigration that is indeed 90 per-

Nathan Glazer, professor emeritus of sociology at Harvard, is the author of "Ethnic Dilemmas." He wrote "Beyond the Melting Pot" with Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 1963.

cent or more non-European, but of peoples no more different or foreign in culture, language, religion or hopes than earlier streams of immigrants?

#### Making of an American

A number of things are different today from what they were in the 1920's and even the 1960's. We have already seen one in the debate on Proposition 187 and in the House welfare reforms: We are now more of a welfare state, to the degree that people ask whether we should be supporting new immigrants, to what extent and at what cost to public budgets. Public education is more expensive than it once was, and now includes subsidized community colleges. Health care is much more expensive, and much of it is supported through public funds.

We discover to our dismay that many elderly immigrants are now on Supplemental Security Income, a program adopted at a time of low immigration and intended for those native elderly poor who had not accumulated sufficient credit for Social Security. It now serves as an income supplement for many parents of immigrants, enabled to enter through family reunification provisions of our immigration laws and who could well be supported by their children — and indeed would have been in their home countries. But this seems to be the only area in which welfare use by immigrants is exceptional. Most are working and contributing to taxes and to the Social Security fund.

A second thing that is different: We are a much more tolerant country. Ironically, that leads us to worry more about whether immigrants will assimilate. We now protect in law more than we once did differences in language and culture, and provide in most states for education of children for a period of time in their home language, and for services in the language of those who apply for them. What does this do for assimilation, for the making of Americans, which has always been part of our American view of immigration? We don't know.

Very likely the attractions of American culture, the usefulness of English, the benefits of citizenship (in particular now its protection from some of the legislation reducing benefits to immigrants!), will mean that assimilation, overall, proceeds at a rate not very different from in the past. But it will not be assisted by strong measures of "Americanization," as we once called them (remember "I am an American Day"); those are now much out of fashion. Did they help assimilate immigrants? Probably yes. Whatever their effect, we won't have them.

A third difference, and this is harder to put one's finger on: We are a society less optimistic about our future, although there

9 million

6

7

6

5

4

3

2

1

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1901-1910

1911-1920

1921-1930

1931-1940

1941-1950

1951-1960

1961-1970

1971-1980

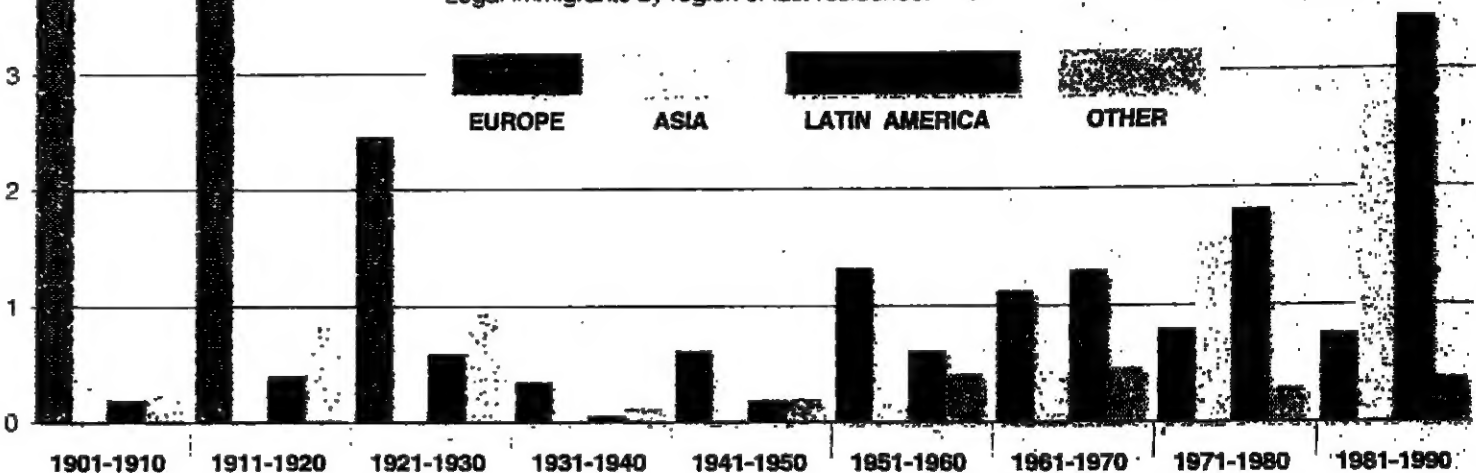
1981-1990



Thousands of new citizens take oath in New York City in 1991.

### Changing Faces on the Immigration Line

Legal immigrants by region of last residence.



Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service

were comparable periods of angst before. We don't think we have any more wide open spaces to settle, however underpopulated we are compared to Asia. We have a powerful environmental movement now. If the Zero Population Growth movement is not as prominent as it was a decade or two ago, how many Americans think 250 million are too few, and that adding 10 million more a decade through immigration, as far as the eye can see, is a good idea?

#### Hue and Cry

Yet a fourth factor: There is our own home-grown racial problem, shamefully neglected in the ages of mass European immigration. It has been a priority of national policy now for 30 years, and we are far from overcoming it. Even if the economists can't

agree that immigration hurts the job prospects of low-income blacks, common observation suggests strongly that it does. One thing that might be done immediately, however the affirmative action debate comes out, is to remove immigrants from affirmative action protection. They have, like all people in the United States, protection against discrimination through civil rights laws. Affirmative action was intended for our own native racial problem, not for immigrants, who now make up a large share of those entitled to its benefits.

Having said that, there are also aspects of current immigration that are beneficial in ways the older European immigration was not — in the large number of highly skilled doctors, engineers, computer specialists and others who find employment easily in the United States; in the availability of

immigrant service workers, which permits highly educated women to work outside the home; in the rejuvenation of half-abandoned inner-city urban areas.

The balance sheet is difficult to draw up. Some restriction, particularly in the family reunification categories that now have preference, seems like a good idea. But a weighing of the costs and benefits does not come down sharply and self-evidently on one side or the other. However, it comes out, it will be driven by sentiments hardly affected by balance sheets. In the hysteria over anarchism and Bolshevism in the wake of World War I — there were mysterious bombings then, too — thousands of East European immigrants were summarily deported. In the current debate, we will all have to keep our heads and remember we all came from someplace else.

### Devaluing the Presidency?

## Prime Time Snubs Mr. Clinton for Reruns



On NBC: a rerun of "Frasier."



On CBS: President Clinton discussing welfare reform.



On ABC: a "Home Improvement" rerun.

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

TWO years ago, fresh from a series of appearances on "Larry King Live," President Clinton announced that he had been "liberated" by talk shows. Now that he could go "to the American people directly," he told broadcast journalists, he planned to "stiff" them on news conferences. Last week, the broadcast networks returned the favor.

On Tuesday, when Mr. Clinton gave the fourth prime-time news conference of his career, ostensibly to talk about welfare reform, only CBS interrupted its schedule to cover it. ABC and NBC decided to carry instead a repeat of "Home Improvement" ("Tim charms Jill's friends") and "Frasier" ("Frasier joins Niles and Martin on an ice-fishing trip").

The two recalcitrant networks attributed their decision to the short notice the White House had given, and to a determination they had made that this particular news conference wasn't likely to produce any, well, news. But the fig leaf wasn't remotely big enough. The networks' decision was made on the basis of economics and was clearly revelatory of Mr. Clinton's sagging authority.

"You can look at news coverage of speeches and press conferences as a fairly good index of power in a society," said Michael Beschloss, a presidential historian. "The networks are voting with their feet. They're saying the Presidency is not as powerful as it was,

especially under this President."

Presidential news conferences are relatively new, dating from only as far as Woodrow Wilson. (Teddy Roosevelt, for example, used to chat with reporters one-on-one while being shaved by the White House barber.) Wilson's idea to hold a question-and-answer session, according to Martha Joynt Kumar, a professor of political science at Towson State University in Maryland, was less about disseminating information than solving a problem: "He didn't like dealing with reporters," she said.

#### Slip-Sliding Away

The live, televised news conference originated with John F. Kennedy, and since then every president has held them. Until the end of George Bush's tenure, the broadcast networks preempted programming for the President almost without question. In June 1992, however, all three major networks refused to run one of Mr. Bush's news conferences on the grounds that it seemed more of a campaign event than anything else.

Under Mr. Clinton the networks have become increasingly emboldened. During his two years in office, Mr. Clinton has held only four prime-time news conferences; of those, only two have been carried by all three major networks. In June 1993 when Mr. Clinton held his first prime-time news conference to press his economic plan, only NBC carried it, and only in part. All have been carried on the cable networks CNN and C-SPAN.

Last week's rejection of Mr. Clinton in favor of "Frasier" and "Home Improvement" was all the more telling because it came just 10 days after House Speaker Newt Gingrich's proto-presidential address. The networks treated Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gingrich exactly alike; CBS, which has this season's weakest prime-time schedule, broadcast both, preempting a made-for-television movie on Tuesday, while NBC and ABC broadcast neither. By skipping Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gingrich, NBC and ABC held on to millions of dollars of advertising revenues.

While there is general agreement among political scientists and politicians that the coverage of Mr. Clinton's news conference is an inauspicious development for him, there is some debate over how much responsibility the President bears for his predicament, and how much is due to forces beyond his control.

Michael Deaver, who directed communications for President Reagan, is part of the group that blames Mr. Clinton.

"My own feeling is if the President is leading and has something to say, the media is going to give him all the access he wants," he said. "I really don't think it has anything to do with the office; I think it has to do with the man."

Mr. Deaver was also critical Mr. Clinton's communications staff, saying it had failed to orchestrate the President's appearances in a way that would encourage press coverage. He said that he and his staff used to spend weeks planning a news conference — conferring

with the networks, choosing a propitious time and generally withholding comments from the President to increase the sense of suspense. The point, Mr. Deaver said, was "to build the drama so that people were anticipating it."

#### Always Time for O.J.

Mr. Beschloss, on the other hand, argued that Mr. Clinton's difficulty breaking into prime time was part of a broader decline in Presidential power.

"The Presidency is constitutionally a very weak office," he said. From the 1930's until the early 1990's, the demands of the Cold War and a national taste for activist government allowed Presidents to transcend that weakness.

But now that the Cold War is over and activist government is in retreat, Mr. Beschloss said, the limitations of the office are reasserting themselves. Mr. Clinton's lack of network appeal, he said, "is just another symptom of the decline of the imperial presidency."

Whatever the underlying reason for their decision not to carry Mr. Clinton last week, Thomas Patterson, a professor of political science at Syracuse University who has written extensively on the press and politics, maintained that the networks should be faulted for it.

"They don't have too much trouble giving us O.J. Simpson," Mr. Patterson said. "And if Robert Shapiro is more important than the President, we're in trouble."



# The World

## Energy-Hungry, Asia Embraces Nuclear Power

By PHILIP SHENON

IT'S difficult to imagine the hulking towers of a nuclear power plant rising up from the emerald-green rice paddies of Vietnam, a nation so poor that most people still depend on cooking over an open fire and lighting their homes with oil lamps. But this month, the Vietnamese Government announced that it was considering a proposal from South Korea to build two nuclear reactors here at a cost of \$3 billion. Vietnam is one of the few Asian nations blessed by large deposits of fossil fuel — it has huge tracts of offshore oil — but its leaders are eager not to be left behind in the nuclear-power binge sweeping Asia. Nuclear power is an industry in crisis in the West, the result both of the panic produced by the accidents at Three Mile Island and Chernobyl and of the multi-billion-dollar cost overruns that have plagued nuclear-energy projects throughout Europe and the United States. No new nuclear plants have been ordered in the United States since 1979. But if the nuclear-energy genie is dying in the West, he is being reborn in Asia. The booming, fuel-hungry nations across the region are ordering and building nuclear plants at a rate not seen in decades.

### Fail-Safe?

There are already 115 commercial and research reactors in operation in East Asia, most in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and China. In the next decade, dozens of new reactors are expected to be built across the continent at a cost of more than \$100 billion. Asian leaders say they have no choice but to develop nuclear power given the explosive rate at which the demand for energy is growing. The International Atomic Energy Agency has predicted that power demands in Asia will triple by 2015. But while reactors may power Asia's thriving economies into the next century,

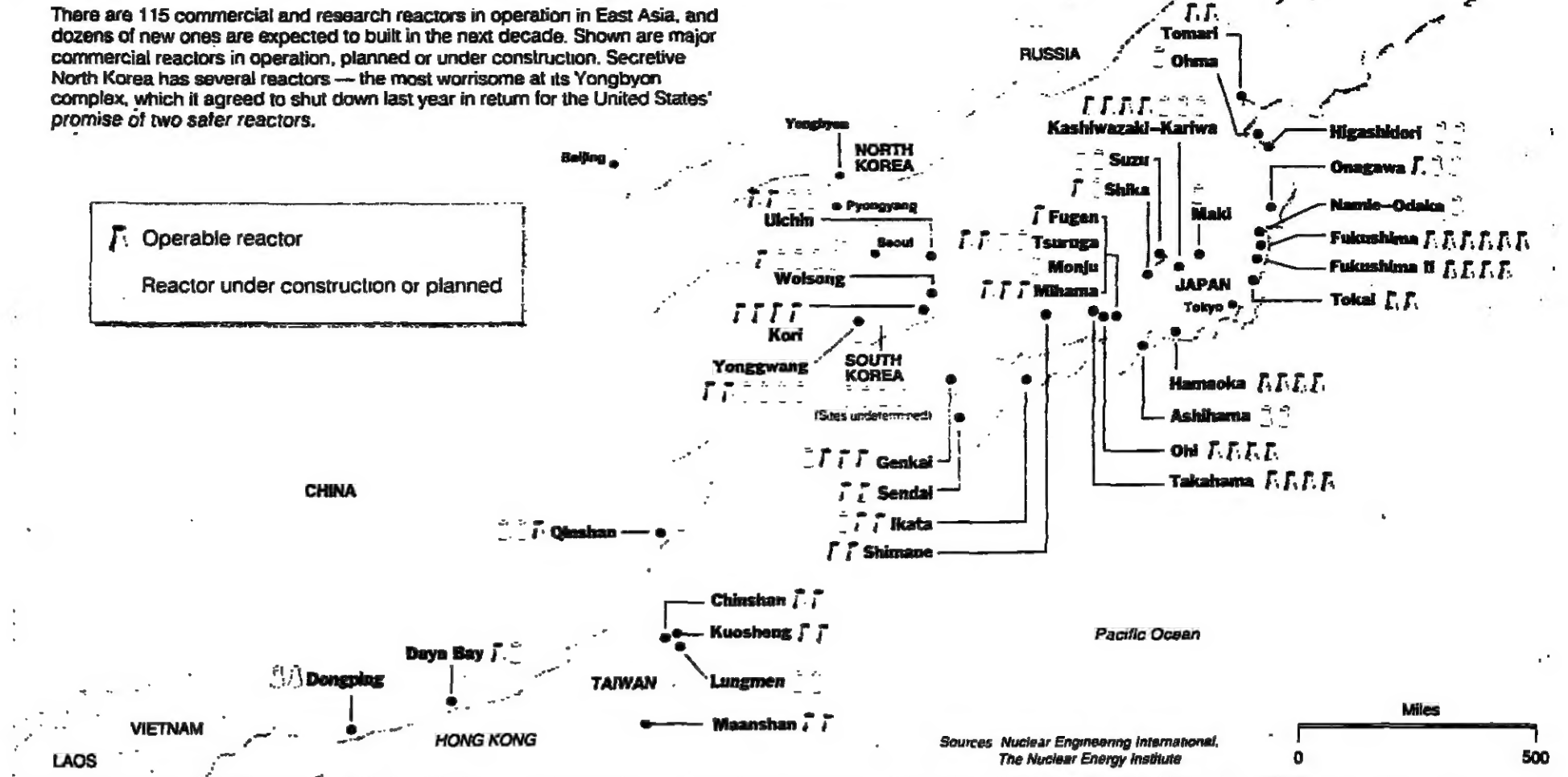
### With business slow, the West's reactor salesmen go East.

they also pose problems of safety and cost that the West has been tangling with unsuccessfully throughout the atomic age. It is a subject now under scrutiny at the United Nations, where diplomats opened talks last week on extending the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The 25-year-old treaty, which is about to expire, was designed to limit the spread of nuclear arms in part by allowing inspection of power plants to verify that atomic material is not diverted to weapons use. But evidence from North Korea has shown that a determined government could use civil nuclear programs as a cover for weapons development, and the spread of nuclear power in Asia has raised new concerns about proliferation.

### The Asian Syndrome: Many More Reactors

There are 115 commercial and research reactors in operation in East Asia, and dozens of new ones are expected to be built in the next decade. Shown are major commercial reactors in operation, planned or under construction. Secretive North Korea has several reactors — the most worrisome at its Yongbyon complex, which it agreed to shut down last year in return for the United States' promise of two safer reactors.

Operable reactor  
Reactor under construction or planned



Anti-nuclear advocates are dismayed. "It's the first world dumping old, dangerous technology on the developing world," said Jean McSorley, who directs anti-nuclear campaigns in Asia for Greenpeace. "We're encouraging them to repeat the same mistakes that we made." Environmental groups say they take little solace from the fact that most of the plants now being built in Asia are of Western design, and that they incorporate hard-earned lessons about safety. They have called on Asian nations to shun atomic energy in favor of conservation and the use of safer energy sources. Solar energy, they say, would be a natural choice in much of sun-baked Southeast Asia. No Asian nation has embraced nuclear energy more enthusiastically than China, which opened its first commercial complex only last year but has plans for 30 more reactors. Last month, it announced a shifting in national energy policy to encourage the development of nuclear power over hydropower and thermal energy, the priorities until now. "We are energetically developing nuclear power," said Yao Qiming, a government energy official. "It is our future." Western companies are rushing in with proposals to build reactors. In January, China awarded three French firms a \$3 billion contract to build two nuclear plants

in Guangdong Province. Few in the industry were surprised when the chairmen of Westinghouse and General Electric, both of which design or build nuclear plants, showed up in Beijing last year for talks. "The energy growth in Asia is just astonishing, and their move to nuclear energy shows that the nations of Asia understand the value of having a mix of energy resources — and the value of nuclear energy," said Angie McBrien of the Nuclear Energy Institute, an industry lobbying group. But if the Clinton Administration is eager to see American companies benefit from the development of atomic power in China, it has been dismayed by what has gone on in North Korea, the nation that more than any in Asia had proved the dangers of the unrestrained nuclear development. Until last year, North Korea appeared bent on using spent fuel from a reactor to make weapons-grade plutonium. Under an agreement with the United States, the plant is to be shut down in return for safer reactors designed to limit the risk of diversion. Negotiations to implement that agreement have been on-again, off-again. At the same time, some critics fear that other Asian countries that until now have dis-

avowed ambitions for nuclear arms may be tempted to reconsider. "My worst-case scenario is that every country in the region would get a couple of reactors with the idea that they want to keep their military options open," said Ms. McSorley of Greenpeace. The options are wide open in India and Pakistan, both of which have diverted nuclear material from power plants to the making of weapons that they might use against one another. Unlike most Asian nations, neither India nor Pakistan has signed the non-proliferation pact. In Southeast Asia, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia are all in varying stages of nuclear development. Indonesia is about to take bids for its first nuclear plant. The governments of South Korea, Japan and Taiwan already support some of the world's most sophisticated nuclear-power programs. In South Korea, nuclear power provides more than 40 percent of all the electricity generated in the country; in Japan and Taiwan, the figure is about 30 percent. The Japanese Government has proposed the construction of at least 15 new nuclear reactors by 2010, and it is now pursuing the commercial use of fast-breeder reactors, which use plutonium for fuel. The rush to nuclear power would not be so worrying if Asian leaders could guarantee that they would remain at peace. Since the

Vietnam War, Asians have enjoyed a remarkable neighborliness. One reason for the region's economic success is that most governments have not been forced to spend a crippling portion of their budget on arms. But military historians say it is only a matter of time before the collegiality of the region breaks down. In just the last few weeks, the Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam have all raised the threat of military action over the potentially oil-rich Spratly Islands in the South China Sea, after China built a military-style platform atop a tiny reef. Asian diplomats have been alarmed by the recent dispute between two old strategic allies, the Philippines and Singapore, which came close to a diplomatic split over the execution in Singapore of a Filipino mailman. **Tension** Worried, Japanese scholars and nuclear experts have proposed a pan-Asian agreement to police recycling of nuclear material and prevent military diversions. Diplomats in the region have embraced the idea. Proponents say an accord may be essential as Asian nations are forced to cooperate in waste disposal. Some land-starved countries are already having trouble disposing of spent fuel — South Korea expects to fill all its storage sites in a decade.

### Chaos, Smugglers and Tyrants

## Misery Is Still Afghanistan's Ruler

By JOHN F. BURNS

UP in these burnished hills, the road winding onward to Afghanistan is busy with richly-decorated trucks — upbound for Afghanistan and downbound again, laden both ways with television sets and refrigerators and washing machines as they roll past the great mud-walled forts that Moghul emperors built to guard the marches to their empire on the Indian plains. In Central Asia, a region where commerce is as much part of ancient traditions as warfare, the freight passing back and forth along the sinuous road through the Khyber is remarkable only because it seems so self-defeating. A traveler from distant parts must wonder why anybody would bother to ship electrical goods to Afghanistan, a country where even hospitals lack electrical power, and where the millions who have survived 15 years of war can hardly find enough money to buy food. The answer lies in a phenomenon known as the Afghan transit trade. Wily traders know that vast profits are to be made from the differentials between the customs duties set by Afghanistan's nominal government and the much higher tariffs set by the Government of Pakistan. So they load trucks in the Pakistani port of Karachi, and haul the loads across the landlocked border of Afghanistan. After paying the notional duties set by Afghanistan, they bribe corrupt Pakistani border officials and double back to the markets in Pakistani cities like Peshawar, Islamabad and Lahore. On its Own This may seem like a comic-opera version of life in a Central Asian bazaar, but it is also a commentary on how distorted life has become in the wake of the Afghan war. Across the border from here, the cast of rulers in Kabul, the Afghan capital, and the armies who besiege them, has changed with baffling regularity since the conflict began with the Soviet military invasion in 1979. But what stays the same are the miseries and deprivations imposed on the Afghan people, the 11 million or so who live amid the country's ruins and the 5 million others who remain in refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran. Even as the West loses the last vestige of its interest in events here, the latest hopes among Afghans themselves that peace might at last be gained in yet another round of battle have also withered away. And what is true for Afghans holds, in smaller measure, for many of the people who live on the



The wars continue: A flock of sheep passes Government tanks near Kabul.

periphery of Afghanistan, a land whose geography still lends it a critical influence in the region's affairs. In the 19th century, when the imperial governments in Britain and Russia competed for influence in Afghanistan, the contest was known as the Great Game. Nowadays, it might more aptly be called the Great Contempt, for the gain that is taken from the chaos in Afghanistan by smugglers and tyrants, and the pain their machinations impose on the poor and fragile lands that surround it. Because there is no peace in Afghanistan, nor even the semblance of lawful rule, the traditional trade routes across Central Asia are blocked. For states born from the breakup of the Soviet Union, like Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan, this means there is effectively no alternative to continued economic dependence on Moscow. For Tajikistan, the consequences are more painful still, since the Tajik hinterland in Afghanistan serves as a base area for a bloody guerrilla war against the pro-Moscow Government in Dushanbe, the Tajik capital, that has solidified a strong Russian troop presence in the republic. Still more severe is the backwash from the Afghan conflict in Pakistan. The tide of weapons (mostly supplied by the United States) that flowed to Afghan resistance groups after the Soviet invasion in 1979 helped the more unscrupulous among the Afghan rebel

leaders to establish fiefs in the Afghan hinterland. And these became, even before the Soviet troops were withdrawn in 1988, havens for poppy growing and opium smuggling. The heroin refined from the Afghan opium has spawned a gangland culture in Pakistan that has come close to overwhelming the country's Government. (Iran, which lies on the land route the heroin travels to Europe, regularly executes traffickers.) As long as the Soviet Union was involved in Afghanistan, Western nations found pressing reasons to maintain interest in Afghanistan themselves. But once Soviet troops were gone, Western interest evaporated. War and More War Last year, the United States wound down the last of its economic assistance programs, to the point of selling off the telephones and fax machines from the office that ran the programs in Peshawar. There is no United States embassy in Kabul, the Afghan capital, nor any mission from any other Western country. The entire complement of Westerners in Kabul, the capital, now numbers less than 100, all of whom are either reporters or members of the staffs of private relief agencies. Left to themselves, Afghans have gone on fighting. Earlier this year, hopes that the war might be winding

down were stirred by the ascent of the Taliban, a spartan fighting force that had claimed a domain amounting to about 40 per cent of Afghanistan within six months of its first military campaign. Guided by a purist form of Islam, the clerics who lead the Taliban declared their own holy war against the bootless armies that have scrapped over the country's ruins. But last month, at the gates of Kabul, the Taliban promise collapsed. Having pledged not to shell the civilian population of a city lying in rubble, as its rivals had already done, Taliban gunners launched an artillery assault of their own. In three days, hundreds of people were killed and more than 1,500 others were wounded. The forces that control Kabul, led by a veteran commander in the war against the Russians, Ahmad Shah Massoud, struck back. Within hours, the Massoud offensive put the Taliban to flight, pushing the Taliban's front lines back 30 miles, to the provincial city of Maidanshah, beyond artillery range of Kabul. The Field Narrows If continued fighting seems inevitable, the battlefield is at least a little less crowded now. From the half dozen forces contesting for power three years ago, there are now only two main contenders, the Taliban and the forces of Mr. Massoud. The advantage of the Taliban lies mainly in their popularity among the Pushtun people, who are the country's largest ethnic group and from whom the country drew its leaders for 200 years before the Soviet invasion. Mr. Massoud's weakness is that he is a Tajik, and thus a member of the country's second-largest group. But he is considered by many Afghans to be the best military leader — as well as the most honest — that the war against the Russians produced. Mr. Massoud, who is 42 years old, has said he is ready to share power with other Afghan groups, including the Taliban, and to accept the results of an internationally supervised election. But for many ambitious men, it is not enough that the country has suffered the loss of more than a million people killed, not to mention the wholesale destruction of roads, bridges, schools, clinics and much else that is associated with 20th-century life. In the six years since the Soviet forces withdrew, Afghan leaders who declared a holy war against the Russians have found new justifications for continuing the slaughter, oblivious to the welfare of those in whose name they took up arms. Only the foolhardy would forecast that they will change the pattern now.



## The World

# Poland's in Europe, Isn't It? Isn't It?

By JANE PERLEZ

WARSAW  
ON a recent British Airways flight into Warsaw from London, a route packed with commuting business people, the stewardess mistakenly announced that the plane was landing in Moscow. A roar from the passengers expressed the dismay of the Poles on board: how could their new sparkling airport and the capital's sprouting modern skyline be confused with the backwardness and chaos to the east?

The question of where Poland belongs — West or East — has been a leitmotif of the country's history and a consequence of its geography, smack-in-between Germany and Russia. Now, unencumbered by the shackles of the Soviets, and its three-way partition of the last century a memory, Poland is, theoretically, free to choose.

To listen to the public voices of Polish leaders the

**The Poles chose Latin Christianity over Byzantium 1,000 years ago. They wonder how their Western standing could be in doubt.**

choice is unequivocal: the West. Some, like the last Foreign Minister, Andrzej Olechowski, add a few flourishes by arguing this is where Poland instinctively belongs, both culturally and socially.

In formal terms, rejoining the West isn't so easy. The Poles believe that they are being denied their rightful place at the celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. President Lech Walesa has been asked to Moscow, where he doesn't want to be (and won't go). But he has been excluded from the ceremonies of the "Big Four" Allies in Berlin. The Poles point out they contributed more forces to the Allied cause than the French. A miffed Mr. Walesa will stay at home and lead war veteran celebrations that could turn out to be a fete of incorrigible Polish patriotism, independent of East or West.

A recent poll showed that 60 percent of Poles

believed that the United States was Poland's best ally, and 25 percent considered Russia to be the most reliable partner; Germany was ranked between the two. The new Prime Minister, Jozef Oleksy, who knows Moscow from his days as a leader of the Polish Communist Party, was in Brussels this month demanding that Poland be admitted to the premier Western club, NATO. His plea was received with the usual politeness, an attitude that proud Poles have come to resent as condescension. The leading weekly magazine *Wprost* bitterly suggested that Poland hadn't always been well served by its historical preference for the West. It noted W. Averell Harriman's comment about the Poles when he was ambassador to Moscow: "In reality, they are only a small and self-centered nation situated on the peripheries of the world."

### Everybody Belongs

But this bitterness is no doubt momentary. Mark Frankland, the author of "The Patriots' Revolution," about the fall of the Communists in Eastern Europe, said: "The Poles have no doubts where they belong: they believe they belong in the West. Having said that, belonging to the West is a common conviction in many parts of Central Europe. I've even heard it said by Georgian intellectuals in Tbilisi that their speaking French means they belong to Europe." Mr. Frankland said that Poland, in its unwavering Roman Catholicism and its once-strong, though now faded, cultural affinity with France, has more claims to Europe than Georgia does. But those claims have been more frustrated than fulfilled, producing what the historian Adam Zamoyski aptly terms Poland's "discordant relationship" with Europe.

A basic tenet of the Polish outlook dates to the 10th century, when Polish kings chose to side with Latin Christianity against Byzantium. Ingrained from that period is the notion that Poland is the front line of defense against the barbaric hordes to the East.

At the end of the 17th century, Poland was the largest state in Europe, a kingdom that stretched from the gates of Moscow to the Black and Adriatic seas. The Polish army led by King Jan Sobieski stopped the Turks at the gates of Vienna. His descendant, the last of the Polish kings, Stanislaw Poniatowski, surrounded himself with intellectuals influenced by the French Enlightenment who invited Italian painters and architects to pursue their creativity in Warsaw. But by 1795, King Poniatowski was deposed, and Poland disappeared from the map, carved up for more than 100 years by Russia, Prussia and Austria.

The partition left indelible marks, inequalities — with the eastern region, ruled by Russia, remaining much poorer than elsewhere — and resentments. Anti-Russian sentiment from that period was reinforced when the Yalta agreement handed Poland to the Soviets. Now, 50 years later, the rush to join the West combines a desire to throw off the enforced encampment with Russia and a feeling that the West is where prosperity and prestige lie.

But does the Polish mentality fit with the West? A Polish sociologist at Lodz University, Edmund Lewandowski, has some doubts.

"Acceptance to the West is all important, but there

**Insulted by the Allies, Walesa will lead a separate celebration of their victory.**

are many hurdles Poles must overcome to join this exclusive club," said Mr. Lewandowski. "Certain of our national characteristics do not conform with Western mentality."

For example, he believes that Poles are better at attacking an existing order than building one — as Mr. Walesa and Solidarity found when they took apart the Communist regime — and better at talking about hard work rather than actually doing it. These are some of the themes, Mr. Lewandowski said, of the most revered Polish writers. Adam Mickiewicz, Henryk Sienkiewicz and Boleslaw Prus.

"We are emotional and hot headed but lack discipline needed to carry out long-term projects," Mr. Lewandowski said. "In today's competitive world this is a problem for Poles." And Communism didn't help: "It created a class that fears the West because of the insecurity of capitalism."

### Benetton's Here

Many trimmings of the West — Benetton, frozen food and Hollywood movies — are commonplace in Poland's big cities. But Polish expatriates who have come back from the United States say they find the Western overlay is thin.

Wanda Rapaczynska, the publisher of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, the nation's biggest circulation newspaper, who



Allen Seifer

has returned from a career at Citibank in New York, said: "I don't know if Poland's position has anything to do with East or West. Poland seems to me to be a deeply provincial country."

She gave her latest favorite example: "The other day the brokerage subsidiary of a bank put more money into a client's account than the client was owed. In a civilized country, the client doesn't have the responsibility to verify his account. But can you believe it: here the bank is suing the client in criminal proceedings. These are things that should be in your bloodstream, but here they are not."

## Take Your Daughter to Work

# El Presidente's New First Lady



Peru's President, Alberto Fujimori, celebrated his re-election April 9 with two daughters — his First Lady, Keiko, left, and Susana.

By CALVIN SIMS

BUENOS AIRES  
WHAT'S a South American president to do when he is separated from his wife but needs a woman to escort him on the campaign trail or on trips abroad? Simple: He asks his darling daughter to come along.

North Americans might have a hard time imagining President Clinton taking his daughter Chelsea to work in quite the same way if he and his wife, Hillary, were ever to split up.

But here, where a man can be forgiven for cheating on his wife, or for battling with her publicly, he is still always expected to maintain a strongly masculine image — as a father, and with a woman at his side. So these days, when President Alberto Fujimori of Peru and President Carlos Saul Menem of Argentina — who are both separated from their wives — travel overseas or make important campaign stops, there is a good chance their daughters will be with them.

"It's the perfect solution," said a top adviser to one of the presidents, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "The daughter is a younger version of the estranged wife and looks better in photographs. He can hold her hand and kiss her cheek without anyone getting upset. And the sight of a father with his loving daughter promotes the all important 'family values' and avoids that awful issue of womanizing," the adviser said. (Machismo notwithstanding, politicians are learning that women vote, too.)

### A New Title

Mr. Fujimori, who separated from his wife, Susana Higuchi, last year after she publicly accused him of being a tyrant and

ignoring the poor, has even named his eldest daughter, Keiko Sofia Fujimori Higuchi, as Peru's new First Lady. The 19-year-old student at Boston College made her debut at the Summit of the Americas in Miami with other First Ladies last year and traveled with Mr. Fujimori to the inauguration of Colombia's new President, Ernesto Samper.

Mr. Menem's daughter, Zulema Maria Menem, 24, also accompanied her father to the summit, making her grand entrance in a stunning gown at the official dinner. Miss Menem has been traveling with her father overseas ever since Mr. Menem locked his wife out of the official residence four years ago, following nasty public fights. The two have said they plan to divorce.

Miss Fujimori, who is described by friends as "easygoing, sensible and sophisticated," spent part of her spring break helping her father campaign for re-election, which he won easily this month. "I hope everyone will participate, work hard and the most important thing for a woman is to be by her children," Miss Fujimori said at one rally, in an apparent dig at her mother — who has had almost no contact with her four children since the separation.

After separating from Mr. Fujimori, Ms. Higuchi tried to run for president herself but was barred by a law that prevents relatives of the president from doing so. For months, her spectacular accusations against her husband made her the darling of the Peruvian media. But now she has been eclipsed by her daughter, who seems to be adored by all Peru.

Social and political analysts are light-heartedly reading deep meaning into the emergence of the "First Daughter" as "First Lady" in South America; they say it underscores a deterioration of the traditional nuclear family at the highest levels of society and reflects a need for presidents to project themselves as ideal family men

even in the face of marital troubles. "In the past, presidential couples stayed together, even if they hated each other, and the First Lady was always by his side for appearance's sake," said Mirko Lauer, a political commentator in Peru. "Today, not only has the first family broken down, but the children are being exploited and literally being pressed into political and symbolic duty." Mr. Lauer said that while the daughters seem to be enjoying their new role, they are forced to choose between the two parents, as often occurs in family separations.

### A Small Scandal

At times, however, the new First Ladies have been caught acting more like the First Daughters than they are. In December, Argentina's top news magazine, *Noticias*, ran a cover story accusing Miss Menem of having cheated on an exam at a local university last year. Classmates complained that exams had been scheduled around the trips she makes with her father, and some female students said she had hit them and made death threats after the cheating story broke. The university later said its investigation found that Miss Menem had not cheated and that she passed the exam with a minimum score.

There was a brief period when it seemed the President and his wife might reconcile, after their son Carlos Jr. was killed last month in a helicopter accident. But that now seems unlikely, and the daughter has resumed her role.

"The presidential daughter has been transformed into something of a showpiece," said Jorge Lanata, a political commentator in Buenos Aires. "But it's all a facade, because people in our society don't think that a man is complete unless he has a legitimate woman by his side. In this case, his daughter will do just fine."

## Russia Unchains a Ghost: Stalin, the Wartime Hero

By MICHAEL SPECTER

MOSCOW  
AS the leaders of Russia, and much of the world, prepare to celebrate here the 50th anniversary of the victory over the Nazis in World War II, a victory that cost this country 27 million lives, a vexing little problem has developed: What about Josef Stalin, the central figure of post-revolutionary Soviet history, the transplanted Georgian who led Russia to victory in war, made it a great industrial power, defeated Hitler, and is justly considered one of the most monstrous criminals of the century?

"You can't just ignore him," said Stephen F. Cohen, director of the Russian Studies program at Princeton University. "Stalin is associated with victory in World War II in the mind of every Russian over the age of 45. Of course it would be false to give him too much credit for that victory. But it would be just as false to pretend he didn't exist."

### Reviving Memories

Until recently, that was basically the policy here. Stalin had been airbrushed out of history, neatly excised from the world he largely created. But every soldier going into battle during the "Great Patriotic War," which is what all Russians call World War II, pledged his life "for the motherland and for Stalin." As the celebration that will bring President Clinton and other heads of state to Moscow nears, the Kremlin has decided for the first time in decades that ignoring Stalin will no longer work.

There have of course long been little bands of Stalinists, dedicated to the past. It is easy — and has been for a while — to find volumes of his letters, his biographies, all sorts of memorabilia. It is not as common as it once was, but plenty of apartments in Russia have a picture of the Orthodox Patriarch on one wall and a portrait of Stalin on the other.

But this month, the nostalgia took a scary turn. First, Russia issued a World War II commemorative stamp featuring the head of the dictator (along with those of Churchill and Roosevelt). It is the first time Stalin has been publicly por-

trayed by any Government here in more than 40 years. To many it seemed like a small step toward rehabilitation, but it wasn't the only one.

Last week, in an eye-opening change of course that delighted elderly veterans and scared most everyone else, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin provided a staunch defense of Stalin's war record. "It would be unfair and dishonest to belittle Stalin's role in the victory," he said, adding that the Soviet leader played an important part in the Red Army's triumph — although most Russian and Western historians say the damage he did before and during the war was far more consequential than his leadership.

### Longing for Greatness

The Prime Minister spent much of the speech denouncing the dictator for his excesses, but the praise was what really stirred the crowd. That's understandable because elderly Russians are those most likely to look with longing upon the crumbled Soviet empire that Stalin assembled. Pensioners have suffered more than anyone in the new, inflation-ravaged, quasi-capitalistic Russia, and many have prayed for a return to the simple days when bread was cheap, the streets were safe, Russia mattered, and Stalin was boss.

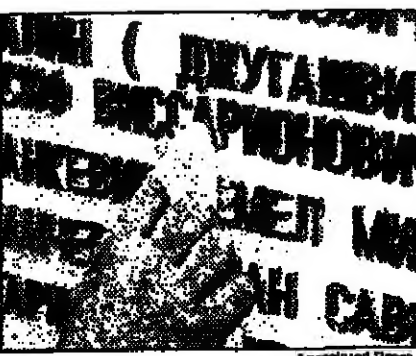
Is there danger in yanking Stalin out of his crypt? "It is extremely dangerous and irresponsible," said the author Edward Radzinsky, who is soon to publish a new Stalin biography, "Remembering Stalin is about remembering the empire, thinking about Russia as Byzantium. It is normal after the collapse of an empire for people to try to live in the past. But it is also very wrong."

It is wrong, many critics say, not just because Stalin was a murderer who helped prolong Russia's suffering during World War II, killed the Ukraine's peasants and presided over the gulag system. It is more complicated than that.

These days Russia is embracing nationalism with vigor. It is not just people like Vladimir Zhirinovskiy who insist that Russia will return to greatness. Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev warned last week that Russia would consider using force to protect its many ethnic minorities left behind in foreign countries — like Kazakhstan, Estonia, Ukraine.

So saber rattling is in vogue these days, and Stalin rattled the biggest saber of all. He was the motherland's most famous nationalist. With parliamentary elections due later this year — and a Presidential election next June — politicians simply cannot afford to ignore the power of nationalist feeling.

And few can afford to ignore Stalin. For Americans, his legacy is easy enough to understand. Millions dead or imprisoned, no freedom and a stream of barbarism. Russians see that too. But they see something else as well. Stalin was more than a brute killer. He was the brute killer who made Russia great.



A worker polishes Stalin's name on a memorial to heroes of World War II.





main a Ghost:  
Vartime Hero

Longing for Greatness

# A Novice Gets an Education on the Shanghai Exchange

By SETH FAISON

There's a wisp of magic in the air. Men in double-breasted, \$1,000 Italian suits chatter on portable phones in the back seats of limousines snaking through city streets; new buildings shoot upward on nearly every block; new businesses are created every day. This is Shanghai in the 1990's.

With money swirling around faster than anyone can count, it seems that even an ordinary investor ought to be able to get a piece of this action. So why not give the Shanghai stock market a shot?

The logic is irresistible: China's economy is steaming ahead like a locomotive. In a nation famous for entrepreneurs, thousands of companies are clamoring to sell stock, and the lucky ones already approved to do so are making products like washing machines and refrigerators, wanted in every Chinese household. Such businesses seem sure to grow for years to come.

Besides, the stock market in Shanghai, barely five years old, created innumerable millionaires during a boom in 1992 and 1993. It drifted downward throughout 1994 and is now near an all-time low.

How could it not go up?

With the curiosity of a new resident in a city reeking of opportunity and with a lurking desire to make a killing, one novice investor set out to learn how to buy some stocks. There are only 34 listed stocks available to the foreign buyer, so how hard could it be to pick a few that will grow long term, riding China's economic trajectory?

The first stop was at China Cathay Securities, known as Guotai in Chinese, where, as at many of the 250 other young securities firms operating in Shanghai, masses of investors jam the ground floor each day to watch share prices on a big board and jostle each other to make a trade. Privileged visitors are ushered upstairs to the private rooms, passing by trading desks at which

brokers finish one phone call after another with the salutation, "Rope you get rich!"

"Call me Frank," said Frank Li, an earnest, short-haired broker who speaks in a mixture of clipped, textbook English and slangy Mandarin Chinese. With two years experience in the market, Frank is considered a seasoned pro.

"The market will definitely go up," Frank said. Then, for good measure, he added, "The question is when and by how much."

Sign me up — the sensible reaction of any eager investor in such an atmosphere of unbridled money-making.

Here's where the complications begin. How much will you invest? Frank asked. A number was suggested: \$1,000. He frowned. "Our normal minimum is \$10,000." Ten thousand! That's worth a moment's reflection. Frank sensed the hesitation. "Since you're a friend, \$5,000 would be O.K."

In the printed regulations for opening an account at Cathay, however, there is no mention of any minimum investment.

"We wouldn't dare print that in the regulations," said Wang Hongwei, Frank's colleague. So what is the rule about minimum investment? "There is none," he said.

Not the most reassuring answer. But hey, no risk, no reward. Let's get down to the business of picking some stocks.

"I think you should quickly accumulate stocks that are undervalued," said Frank, slipping into market jargon. "Then you're sure to make a profit."

Narcissus Electric is Frank's first choice. As a maker of washing machines, Narcissus is making a product that nearly everyone wants. Solid management, Frank said, and at 25 cents a share, a good price.

What did Narcissus trade at the previous day? Frank shuffled through his papers and frowned again. It didn't actually trade that day, he said. Not that it was suspended or anything, there just isn't that much demand for Narcissus. About one-third to one-half of the dollar-denominated stocks in Shanghai

do not trade on any given day, what you might call low liquidity.

Let's look at another stock, Frank said brightly. Lujiazui (loo-jah-SWAY): a developer in the East Shanghai area that is being built as the city's new financial district over the next five years, selling land-use rights in a real estate market that is riding high. A sure thing, said Frank.

An alarm bell might go off in the mind of even an inexperienced investor when he hears the words "sure thing." And one obvious question about this stock is, what happens when the land is all sold? Frank insists that it will take several years, and that his only concern is that the stock is expensive. At 73 cents a share, it is near its 52-week high of 74 cents.

For a second opinion, a visit to a second securities firm.

Patrick Chen brings potential investors into the modern office he shares with four others at Shanghai International Securities. Shanghai International was the most dy-

## How hard could it be to pick stocks that will ride China's economic trajectory?

amic of Shanghai's securities firms until it was hit by scandal in February; it suffered huge losses in the bond futures market and was accused of trying to manipulate sales to avoid going out of business in a single day.

On the computer at Mr. Chen's desk, the beginning of a company text was visible: "A Brief Introduction to the Incident — (1) Shanghai International Securities did not lose nearly as much money as has been reported in the foreign and other media. (2) Business is proceeding as normal."

Not the most auspicious introduction. But Mr. Chen was quite open about the market's drawbacks. "People know there is insider trading," he said. "People know there is manipulation. These incidents happen every day."

A few Western analysts who follow the Shanghai market confirmed this impression. Stocks rise and fall on rumors, they said, not on earnings reports. Companies that promise to invest new capital in their operations sometimes use the money to speculate in real estate instead. The rules, where they exist, are openly flouted.

An American lawyer recently asked a trader to explain the difference between a lottery and the Shanghai stock market, and was told, "In the stock market, sometimes you can get information about the number before it gets picked."

But then, the optimist must insist, what emerging market isn't prone to some funny business? Even if the big players dominate the market, that doesn't mean the individual can't ride the wave upward.

Some of the market's complications, while seemingly negative, have a silver lining. Look at one basic condition of the Shanghai market, Mr. Chen suggested: It is divided in two. Most shares are denominated in the local currency, renminbi (RMB); a smaller number are available in United States dollar amounts. According to the rules, Chinese citizens can only buy RMB, or A shares; non-Chinese can only buy dollar, or B shares.

There is no intrinsic reason that the market should be divided; it was set up this way in 1990 to accommodate local and foreign investors who have limited access to each other's currencies. It is only a matter of time before the authorities in Beijing decide they can be unified, Mr. Chen said, and when they are, prices of the dollar shares are sure to rise because they are now trading at well below that of their renminbi counterparts.

The Shanghai dollar stock index bottomed out at 51 in July 1993, and then it shot up to 104 by December 1993 and has drifted downward since. It closed last week at 54.82, up slightly from its 1993 low of 51.77 on Feb. 6.

The renminbi market has had an even wilder ride. After losing nearly half its value — from around 600 points to just over 300 — in two months last summer, it then rocketed to 1,000 in one more month, easing since then to its close last week at 660.

So when will the markets be merged? Probably not this year, said Mr. Chen. Maybe before the end of the year, said Frank.

But back to stock-picking. Mr. Chen likes the Post and Telecom Equipment Company, a provider for the fast-expanding telecommunications business, and Yaohua (pronounced YOW-hwah) Pilkington Glass, a Chinese-British venture that makes glass for skyscrapers and windshields.

Although Post and Telecom can't match the quality of the equipment produced by foreign companies, Mr. Chen said, many parts needed in phone systems can be made locally. China will probably rely more and more on domestic producers like Post and Telecom, which made a good profit in 1994 and is trading at 58 cents a share.

Yaohua Pilkington is another steadily profitable company, and an executive there, responding to a reporter's questions, was willing to entertain a visit. The executive, Gui Xianan (pronounced GWAY-shin-teen), was happy to discuss the company inside the general manager's office, but said a look at the production lines was not feasible. "Privileged technology," he said.

But Mr. Gui said Yaohua is producing glass at capacity and does not expect to lift its profits much past the \$30 million it reported for 1994. Building a third production line will not be easy because there is no more available space at the factory. So much for upside potential.

Another broker, who asked not to be named, had a bright idea for an investor who is also a reporter: write a positive article about a company, then when its stock rises, sell for a nice profit.

"And tell me before the article is published," the broker added cheerfully. He was disappointed to be told that newspapers prohibit reporters from writing about companies they hold stock in.

But enough talk. Time to get down the business of buying.

In another visit to China Cathay Securities to fill out forms, there are a few more surprises. There is a \$24 fee just to open an account, and a \$20 minimum commission on every trade. Then there are four more fees: a stamp tax, a stock exchange fee, and two others that were difficult to understand, either in Chinese or English.

As for the method of payment, no checks are allowed, not even one from a Shanghai bank. They're too much trouble for us, said Frank's colleague, Mr. Wang. It will have to be a bank transfer.

Would an individual investor in the United States be able to open an account this way? No worries, said Frank. He could contact us directly, by telephone or fax, or go through any large American brokerage house. A handful of American firms can buy shares in the Shanghai market directly.

How do customers know how their portfolio

lios are doing? Does Guotai send a statement of any kind? "I'm afraid we don't offer that kind of service," said Frank.

One more thing, Frank said. Trade orders must be made in person. In person? Unless you want to do it by phone, Frank said, but there's a \$10 monthly charge for that. What if you don't make any trades in a particular month? You are charged anyway.

How many individual foreign customers does Guotai have? "Several," said Frank. Fewer than 10? "Several," he said again.

Actually, most foreigners interested in stocks from China buy shares that have been listed in Hong Kong, where a generally better class of companies trade. The luckiest companies, Frank said, are those that have been allowed by the Chinese authorities to be listed in New York. But those stocks, like Shandong Huaneng and Huaneng Power International, haven't done particularly well. That's true, said Frank.

The market capitalization of the Shanghai dollar market is \$1.2 billion, a small percentage of the \$30.8 billion Shanghai renminbi market, and tiny compared with the \$280 billion Hong Kong stock market.

As Frank showed the way out of Cathay's headquarters, a detour was taken through a "big customer room," where individual investors with sizable portfolios are allowed to sit in puffy chairs and monitor the market on computer screens.

Who were all these Chinese investors watching the screens for dollar stocks? "They're our customers," said Frank. Aren't they prohibited from buying dollar shares directly? "Well, the market is very slow these days, so we're accepting orders from anyone with U.S. dollars." Is that breaking the rules? "I wouldn't put it that way," Frank said.

Frank offered a firm handshake in parting. The outlook for stocks in Shanghai is strong, he said reassuringly. Inflation in China will probably fall in the second half of the year, the Hong Kong stock market will probably rise, and the attitude among stock exchange officials is "very go-go."

## How to Invest in China Without Being There

### Checking on Selected China Funds

CLOSED-END FUNDS	Assets (millions)	Market price per share	Performance, year-to-date
Greater China Fund	\$132.0	\$12.25	+0.03%
Templeton China World Fund	232.9	10.125	+0.01
Jardine Fleming China Region Fund	114.5	10.825	+0.05
The China Fund	136.0	12.375	+0.04
OPEN-END FUNDS			
Eaton Vance Marathon Greater China Growth	\$208.0	\$11.38	-2.1 %
Ivy China Region A	11.7	8.23	-4.2
United Services China Region	19.3	6.52	-8.0

Sources: Lipper Analytical Services, Morningstar Inc.

By LAURENCE ZUCKERMAN

A small investor doesn't have to ply the crowded streets of Shanghai to bet on China. There are far easier and safer ways to invest in the country's growth, one reason why the shares reserved for foreigners on the fledgling stock markets in Shanghai and Shenzhen have been hurting so badly.

Since 1992, when the shares for foreigners began to trade, more than a dozen Chinese companies have listed their shares in Hong Kong, another half dozen listed on the New York Stock Exchange and a few more showed up in Australia and Canada.

Most of these are former state enterprises spun off by the government after adopting Western accounting standards. But even these have gone out of style in recent months as the early enthusiasm for China has been replaced by cynicism.

Tsingtao Brewery Company, a former state-owned enterprise listed in Hong Kong, was one such casualty. It failed to expand nationally and recently admitted that it lent a large sum of cash earmarked for expansion to other companies. It closed Friday at 45 cents, near its all-time low.

That may turn on investors who believe that Chinese shares have bottomed. But most professionals advise against taking the risk. "I don't think retail investors should be fooling around buying China shares," said Barton Biggs, chairman of Morgan Stanley Asset Management, even though he is bullish on Asia. "These stocks vary from being very good companies at very low valuations to being fraudulent."

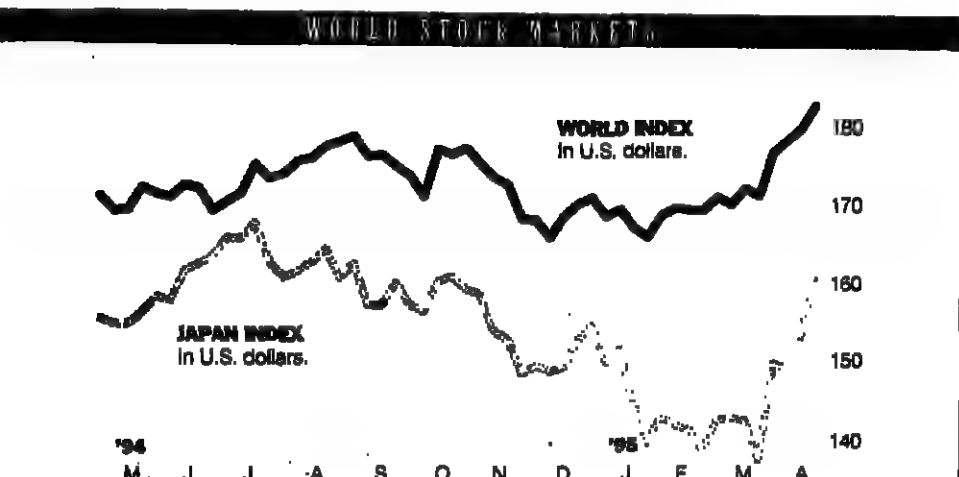
One option is to buy a mutual fund. There

are at least seven China funds available to American investors. But they tend to be small, and nearly all are down this year. Plus, like any fund that invests in volatile emerging markets, they can be trouble if investors flee and the managers then have to raise cash by dumping stakes in companies that don't trade often.

A smarter buy may be the closed-end China funds listed on the Big Board. Unlike regular mutual funds, which expand and contract as customers buy and sell, closed-end funds do not redeem shares. If investors want out, they have to sell their shares on an open market, which lowers their value but doesn't require their managers to dump stocks. Three of the four closed-end China funds are trading for 10 percent less than the value of their underlying holdings. So investors who believe that the current bearish mood about China is only temporary could profit doubly if China shares surge because they will have also bought the fund's assets at a steep discount.

Another alternative is to find Western companies doing business in China. "There are a surprising number of companies whose businesses and growth depend on Mainland China," said Daniel J. Duane, portfolio manager of Prudential's Pacific Growth Fund, an open-end fund.

He favors Hong Kong-based conglomerates like Hutchison Whampoa, which owns stakes in container ports in the British colony and the mainland. Other professional stock pickers like Hong Kong Telecom, the colony's telephone monopoly, and Wharf Holdings, a large property and transport company with investments in China. Both trade on the New York Stock Exchange.



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the FT Actuarial World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and NatWest Securities Ltd. in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and the Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE	IN U.S. DOLLARS	IN LOCAL CURRENCY
Country	Index	Index
Australia	169.74	153.98
Austria	188.24	134.63
Belgium	192.83	134.96
Britain	208.22	192.17
Canada	134.98	133.67
Denmark	286.36	197.18
Finland	187.47	168.51
France	184.11	141.02
Germany	150.47	107.68
Hong Kong	344.22	341.73
Ireland	221.74	191.40
Italy	70.75	90.97
Japan	163.02	85.44
Malaysia	491.33	468.64
Mexico	960.09	6,445.54
Netherlands	241.37	189.93
New Zealand	82.74	65.37
Norway	220.85	185.29
Singapore	369.54	237.71
South Africa	348.81	275.31
Spain	135.36	126.80
Sweden	241.66	265.21
Switzerland	184.78	130.35
United States	207.92	207.92

COMPOSITE INDICES	Index	% Chg.
Europe	181.26	0.5
Europe/Pacific	174.70	2.5
World	184.66	1.5

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close.  
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CURRENCIES	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Country	Currency	Index	Index	Index
Japan	Yen per U.S. \$	82.71	83.50	-0.95
Germany	Marks per U.S. \$	1.3680	1.3864	-1.33
Canada	Canadian \$ per U.S. \$	1.3716	1.3740	-1.75
Britain	U.S. \$ per British pound	1.6125	1.6095	+0.19

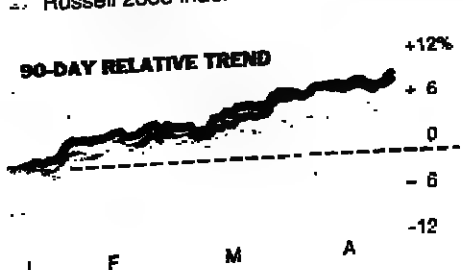
Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close

## April 17-21: As Dow Nears 4,300, Bond Yields Remain Steady

### PRICES

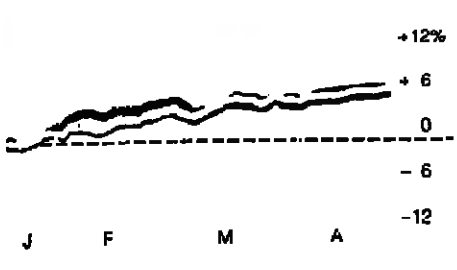
#### DOMESTIC EQUITIES

Broad market	Down 0.15%
S. & P. 500 index	508.49
Blue chips	Up 1.47%
Dow 30 industrials	4,270.09
Small capitalization	Down 0.56%
Russell 2000 index	262.51



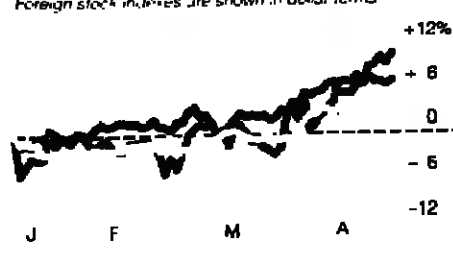
#### DOMESTIC BONDS

Treasuries	Up 0.26%
Ryan Labs Total Return	170.67
Municipals	Up 0.14%
Bond Buyer index	92.63
Corporates	Up 0.31%
Merrill Lynch Master index	723.14



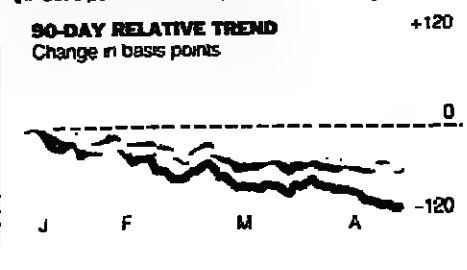
#### AROUND THE WORLD

European stocks	Up 0.50%
F.T.-Actuarial Europe	181.25
Asian stocks	Up 4.03%
F.T.-Actuarial Pacific Basin	170.19
Gold	Up 0.08%
New York cash price	\$392.70



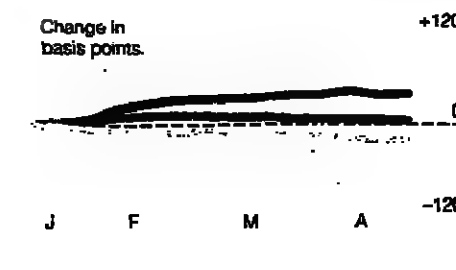
#### YIELDS

BONDS	
Long bonds	7.33%
30-year Treasuries	Unchanged
Short bonds	6.41%
2-year Treasuries	Down 9 basis pts.
Municipals	6.23%
Bond Buyer index	Down 3 basis pts.



#### OTHER INVESTMENTS

Money market funds	5.54%
Bank fund average	Up 1 basis pt.
Bank C.D.'s	5.78%
1-year small savers	Down 1 basis pt.
Stocks	2.67%
S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Up 1 b.p.



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor, Bloomberg Financial Markets, The Bond Buyer, Datastream, Goldman, Sachs, IBC/Doughnut, Merrill Lynch, Standard & Poor's, Ryan Labs



# The New York Times

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## School Prayer Is Already Allowed

With the first 100 days out of the way, social revolutionaries of the right in Congress are pressing for enactment of their deferred social agenda, especially the political prize of school prayer. They want to weaken and circumvent the First Amendment, which the Supreme Court rightly has held to forbid government-sponsored devotional expression as a coercive intrusion on individual beliefs. The aim is a radical reduction in the religious liberty Americans have long known.

All Americans, in school or wherever they may be, are free now to pray by themselves and express their faith. There is no need to bring officially sanctioned prayer back to schools or to lower other barriers that separate church and state.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich says he is not out to topple Supreme Court decisions three decades old that struck down state-composed and state-compelled classroom prayer and Bible reading. He says he wants only to take care of complaints that students are forbidden to pray in a lunchroom or told they cannot draw religious objects in art class.

These anecdotes, some unproved and others remediable by existing law, are cited by Mr. Gingrich's House troops as reason to draft a constitutional amendment. Language under consideration might nominally be addressed to student-led or voluntary prayer. But any governmental insertion of prayer into the schools beyond the current permissible boundaries will inevitably become a guise for imposing the majority religion on others forced to sit through its celebration.

The Gingrich team, led by Representative Ernest Jim Istook of Oklahoma, has yet to settle on specific language. One proposal under consideration came from a group of eight conservative and evangelical denominations. It would permit student-led prayers in any circumstances in which students can make non-religious statements, a loophole so broad it might allow student-led prayer virtually anywhere in school. It would also open the door for

government aid to parochial schools. It might even force local governments to let worshippers erect creches and other devotional objects on public space.

The measure is unnecessary and divisive. All students can now pray voluntarily — over lunch, before a test, before or after class — so long as they do not commandeer a captive audience of students. Students can also gather voluntarily outside the classroom to use school space for religious exercise on an equal basis with other extra-curricular activities. The Gingrich forces want more: group prayer scenes in schools that can be brandished as a political trophy on the nightly news.

The eight evangelical and conservative organizations declared flatly that student prayer authorized by the amendment "shall not constitute an establishment of religion," a direct overturning of 30-year-old precedents.

Another provision would give any person or group, presumably parents and visitors and not just students, the right to pray in schools "in circumstances in which expression of a non-religious character would be permitted." Still another would safeguard government "benefits" to all regardless of the religious character of their speech or ideas, which quickly leads back to government aid for religious schools.

The Supreme Court has forthrightly declared that the establishment clause forbids more than the creation of a state church. It also bars laws that prefer one religion over another or that aid all religions evenhandedly, because such laws can be sources of religious coercion on nonbelievers or devout believers in different faiths.

The Court's rule leaves all Americans free of legal or majoritarian pressure to bow to any majority's god in public display of piety. It is the American way of safeguarding everyone's liberty of conscience, and it needs no new amendment.

## Privacy, Business and the Internet

Computer programs that protect data from eavesdroppers and thieves are eroding the Government's ability to look in on electronic mail and computer data transmitted over the telephone lines. The encryption programs allow callers to scramble information so that only the recipients can decode it. The programs are legally available for use in this country. But fear that criminals or spies will use encryption to hide crimes has driven the Government to classify the programs as "weapons" and restrict their export.

The attempt to block exports is destined to fail; computer software can be sent anywhere in the world via phone lines, and foreign companies already sell encryption systems of their own. The chief victims of the export ban are American computer companies that are placed at a competitive disadvantage abroad, where finicky consumers reject American products in favor of foreign-made products with encryption systems built in.

Any restriction on encryption systems inevitably interferes with the privacy rights of individuals and corporations. Encryption programs are like the envelopes that letters are mailed in — they guarantee that a message will reach its destination without being read by eavesdroppers. Absent truly compelling reasons, people are entitled to private conversations, whether those conversations are conducted across town or across the globe.

Misguided or not, the law has teeth. Ask Philip Zimmermann, creator of a popular encryption program called Pretty Good Privacy, or P.G.P. Mr. Zimmermann is currently the subject of a grand jury investigation, under suspicion of distributing P.G.P. abroad. He admits circulating the program free of charge in America but denies exporting it. But someone placed a copy of P.G.P. on the Internet, allowing users abroad to copy it. The program has become exceedingly popular worldwide. It is available on computers from Tokyo to London, and sold in a commercial version by a company that pays Mr. Zimmermann royalties.

For two years, the United States Attorney's office in San Jose, Calif., has been investigating Mr. Zimmermann for a possible violation of Federal export controls on munitions. A Federal grand jury will soon decide whether to indict him on charges that could result in five years' imprisonment and a \$1 million fine. Government is right to worry about keeping pace with electronic criminals. But citizens should not generally be forced to surrender privacy just to make law enforcement easier. That is especially true in this case because it is doubtful that encryption software can be successfully blockaded.

Or Lois Gibbs, the toxics fighter, rather than Fred Krupp, who runs a Beltway ecoblog. You might also have cited Mark Dowie's new "Losing Ground," rather than Gregg Easterbrook's "Moment on the Earth," which proves that verbal detoxification is cheaper than cleaning up the planet.

The environmental movement can take credit for stalemating the commercial reactor industry, protecting large chunks of our natural ecology and setting the stage for green technologies. But no victories were won with illusions. HARVEY WASSERMAN, Bexley, Ohio, April 18, 1995

## Flat Tax Proposal Gives Middle Class a Break

To the Editor:

"Debate on Flat Tax Revives Simplicity vs. Fairness Issue" (front page, April 18) includes several errors in the discussion of my flat tax proposal.

Under my proposal the middle class pays less, not "a little more," as you assert. You apparently relied on a Treasury Department analysis that measured the impact of a different plan with a 22.9 percent rate. Obviously, a 17 percent rate changes the effect on taxpayers.

The second error is the statement that "interest, dividends and capital gains would be exempt from taxation." Under my plan all income is taxed. The items you mention are taxed at the source of generation: at the business level. What my plan does is eliminate the double and sometimes triple taxation of the Federal revenue code.

Ending the double taxation of investment income is a feature common to most comprehensive tax reform plans, including my own. The most accurate description of my proposal is that it is neutral toward consumption and savings; other reform proposals have much the same objective, albeit accomplishing it by different methods.

You also misstate my position on the Treasury Department analysis you cite. I take strong issue with its methodology and conclusions about the distributional consequences and the revenue consequences of my proposal. I estimate that under my plan annual Federal revenues would be approximately \$40 billion less than current law. This small loss (about 5 percent of revenues) is offset entirely by required spending cuts.

In October of last year, a few days before the November elections, the Treasury Department leaked a flawed study that purported to show annual revenue losses of more than \$240 billion. The Treasury study wrongly portrayed my proposal, which officials later admitted. Most important, the study erroneously assumed that businesses would be able to deduct payroll, state and local taxes, removing about \$349 billion from the tax base and generating huge false revenue losses.

Another incorrect assumption was that fringe benefits of employees at nonprofit and state and local govern-

ment entities would not be taxable, whereas my bill repeals this exclusion. In addition, the Treasury ignored the phased-in 17 percent range, further exaggerating losses.

The number of taxpayers filling out the short form or taking a standard deduction seem to be poor measures of how many Americans worry about the complexity of the tax code. The code's very complexity may drive many of these taxpayers to fill out a simpler form.

The flat tax is popular precisely because it combines simplicity and fairness. (Rep.) DICK ARMEY, Majority Leader

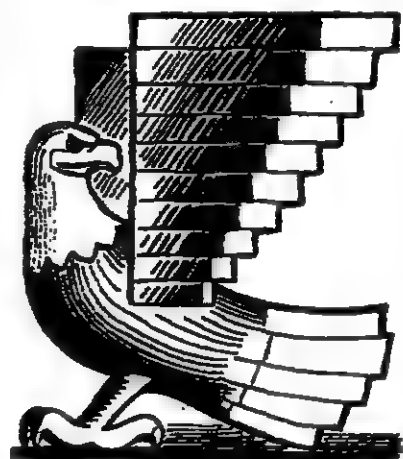
Washington, April 18, 1995

### Lifting Rich Boats

To the Editor:

"Debate on Flat Tax Revives Simplicity vs. Fairness Issue" (front page, April 18) on Representative Dick Arme's flat tax proposal, otherwise informative, might lead some readers to think that the Arme plan would merely substitute a single rate for our present five-rate structure while eliminating exemptions and itemized deductions. But it is much more extreme than that.

The Arme plan is really just a national sales tax — that is, a tax on



everyday consumption. Its effect is the same as the conventional sales tax being proposed by Senator Richard G. Lugar and others, differing only as to point of collection. Senator Lugar's sales tax would be collected

at the retail purchase level; Representative Arme's consumption tax would be paid directly to the Treasury by individual consumers.

Designed to reach consumption but not savings, the Arme plan exempts investment income and taxes salaries and wages only. Dividends, interest, rents and capital gains would all be tax-free under the plan, as you briefly mention. That is the main reason the Arme plan results in a sharp tax reduction for upper-income individuals and a tax increase for moderate-income people, who depend mostly on their paychecks.

Why, when increasing inequality of wealth has become a painful problem in this country, would we want to reduce taxes for high-income people? The answer we are given is the usual supply-side story: pulling investment income out of the tax base will encourage saving, lift all boats and lead to prosperity for everybody.

The fiction is familiar, but the facts are different. Every recent statistical study shows that the savings response to tax reduction is modest or nonexistent. During the 1980's, when interest rates went sky-high and taxes were sharply reduced, the national savings rate actually declined slightly. The budget deficit and other factors may be responsible, but not our tax rates, which are the lowest in the Western world.

The Arme plan does have the virtue of simplicity, although most taxpayers now use the standard deduction and file simple returns anyway. The cost and complexity of the present system are largely the result of pressures for special treatment from interest groups of all kinds. Why would the Arme plan be immune to such pressure?

A better and fairer way to reduce the cost of raising government revenue is to simplify the income tax. Led by Senators Bob Packwood and Bill Bradley, Congress in 1986 overhauled the Internal Revenue Code, broadened the base, reduced rates and effectively eliminated the tax shelters that were undermining the structure. The achievement was a legislative marvel. Much more can and should be done, and that is where tax reforms might usefully be focused. MARVIN A. CHITRELESTEN, Professor of Law, Columbia U.

New York, April 19, 1995

## Earth Day Greenwash Hides Toxic Assault

To the Editor:

Your April 18 Science Times assessment that "an emerging public perception" sees an improving natural environment seems a classic exercise in manufacturing consent.

The destruction by the Gingrich Congress of Federal environmental protection is just the tip of the iceberg. This year's Earth Day is notable for its slick corporate greenwash, which paints a happy face of denial on an escalating toxic assault.

One wishes you had interviewed Barry Commoner, whose scientific opinion is far different from that of William K. Reilly, former Environmental Protection Agency administrator, long on the board of Northeast Utilities, which operates nuclear plants.

Or Lois Gibbs, the toxics fighter, rather than Fred Krupp, who runs a Beltway ecoblog.

You might also have cited Mark Dowie's new "Losing Ground," rather than Gregg Easterbrook's "Moment on the Earth," which proves that verbal detoxification is cheaper than cleaning up the planet.

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The writer is a Greenpeace adviser.

## Doctors Go Jobless, Patients Do Without

To the Editor:

Your April 15 front-page article featuring an unemployed eye surgeon confirms the decline in American health care. When I was growing up in the 1940's and 50's, my family saw an eye doctor every year; so did my own children in the 70's and 80's. Now, my family and I never see one.

On rare occasions I have visited a private eye doctor, whose fees are not covered by my health maintenance organization. A recent article told me that under some health plans if I develop cataracts, I may have them removed only in one eye. Mean-

while, eye surgeons cannot find work. Surely, health maintenance organizations are not matching the skills of doctors to our needs nearly as well as a single-payer system could. ROSE ROSENGARD, SUBOTNIK, Providence, R.I., April 16, 1995

### Too Many Specialists

To the Editor:

Blaming health maintenance organizations for physician-specialist unemployment is like blaming the thermometer for the fever (front page, April 15). The United States has been producing an excess number of specialists for years. Medical schools and teaching hospitals have found training programs for specialists a source of low-cost labor, and the high-tech culture of most academic centers has provided students with specialists as role models.

By contracting only with physicians they need, health maintenance organizations have brought the oversupply issue to the surface by limiting the ability of specialists to "induce" demand by performing marginally useful procedures and tests.

The United States is headed toward a physician glut. Right-sizing of training programs and the flow of international medical graduates can match the supply of physicians to needs. LEWIS G. SANDY, M.D., V.P., Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Princeton, N.J., April 17, 1995

### Fire-Prone Cigarettes

To the Editor:

While Jon McMillan is correct that the United States has the worst fire death rate in the industrialized world and that cigarette-caused fires are the predominant cause, he fails to point to the major culprit (Op-Ed, April 17).

Tobacco companies add oxidizers to keep cigarettes burning in ashtrays.

If manufacturers didn't add these chemicals, or took the steps the Federal Government has recommended to make their products ignition-proof, none of these fires would occur.

JOHN F. BANZHAFF 3D, Executive Director, Action on Smoking and Health, Washington, April 17, 1995

## Yale Case Illustrates Swindle of Grade Inflation

To the Editor:

It is worrisome that a transfer applicant to Yale University could deceive an admissions officer about his record at a state college in California (Week in Review, April 16). But the most significant fact in this episode is that the student, whose grade point average at his state college was just 2.1 (out of a possible 4.0), had a record of 3.0 at Yale.

This is the problem that the country's private colleges and universities would prefer to ignore: grade inflation is now so widespread at our best colleges that a high grade point average has ceased to be at all unusual. Twenty-five years ago, private colleges and universities could expect to bestow outstanding honors to the top 3 or 4 percent of the senior class. Today, at the University of Pennsylvania, and typical of the situation nationally, fully 20 percent of graduating students qualify for highest graduation honors.

Grade inflation trivializes a strong college record and adulterates the value of the bachelor's degree. The

phenomenon is accelerating rather than declining. A correspondent (letter, April 11) complained that graduate schools are relying too much on the Graduate Record Examination and other standardized tests. Indeed we are, for admissions committees are aware that high grades at a good college are no longer an adequate index of a student's knowledge or ability.

The real fraud is not that one student managed to swindle Yale, but that many, perhaps most, selective colleges routinely award stellar grades to students of average ability without regard to what this process has done to the quality of higher education. PAUL J. KORSHIN, Prof. of English, U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April 16, 1995

## When Republicans Don Democratic Masks

To the Editor:

Your April 14 front-page picture of Representative Robert K. Dornan and the caption "The Happy Warrior" (some editions) typifies Republican exploitation of heroic 20th-century Democratic statesmen. From Newt Gingrich's claiming bipartisanship in the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt to Senator Jesse Helms's using Hubert H. Humphrey's name to promote his civil rights restoration bill, which would abolish opportunities for thousands of minorities and women, these flawed comparisons have demeaned these leaders and their causes.

The real Happy Warriors, Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Hubert Humphrey, were true to the "high endeavors" character of William Wordsworth's poetic hero. They showed they could lead their people beyond hardship, out of the shadows of discrimination and over the mountain of economic depression. They showed that by empowering people and creating opportunity, our nation would indeed be indivisible with liberty and justice for all.

In sharp contrast, the Republican leaders of today stand for division and partisanship, liberty for the few at the top of the economic ladder and justice for those who can afford it. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY 3D, Attorney General, Minnesota

Minneapolis, April 18, 1995

## Wine, Roses, Then and Now

When a couple hundred veterans of New York City's last fiscal crisis gathered last week to honor former Gov. Hugh Carey, they were eager to trade war stories about the heroic effort to keep the city out of bankruptcy. There were not many emissaries from Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Gov. George Pataki, perhaps because they felt they had little to learn from such ancient history. But the lessons for today were clear.

First was the need for cooperation and shared sacrifice across ideological and even class lines. For example, there was Mr. Carey, the combative Democrat from Brooklyn, embracing Warren Anderson, a Republican from Binghamton, N.Y., who as the State Senate majority leader was his indispensable partner for saving the city. There were Victor Gotbaum, then the city's most powerful labor leader, and Walter Wriston, then chairman of Citicorp, the city's most powerful bank, another set of onetime enemies who found common purpose in avoiding municipal bankruptcy.

Another critical part of the bailout that many people forget was cited by Peter Goldmark, now president of the Rockefeller Foundation but then state budget director, who noted that a temporary tax increase helped serve as a bridge to solvency. Only after the state and city met their budget goals were taxes cut again. Today such a step would be unthinkable, with both Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Pataki compounding already grievous budget cuts by pushing for bigger tax cuts. Their approach is not simply fiscally unsound; it undermines the essential idea that everyone, even taxpayers, should be prepared to forgo something to get out of the current crisis.

The fiscal crisis of 1975 was more dire and dramatic than anything the Mayor and Governor face today. Each month, the city had to scramble to borrow huge sums to meet payments falling due and avoid Chapter 11. But those monthly crises at least focused the minds of New Yorkers in a way that the problems of today do not.

Once the financing needs of the city were met with

## Fiscal Crisis Veterans Trade War Stories

help from Albany and Washington, and by declaring a moratorium on paying off debt that was later thrown out in court, the city bounced back because of underlying strengths that are also not available at present.

Back then, the city and state were heading into an economic recovery that swelled tax revenues and forestalled even deeper cuts. A Democratic governor and (after 1976) a Democratic President channeled aid to the city. Today, no such recovery is in sight, and neither is any help from Albany or Washington.

For next year, the city has a \$3 billion budget deficit, and the state's deficit after Mr. Pataki's proposed tax cut is projected to be \$5 billion. To the veterans of 1975 like Felix Rohatyn, architect and later chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation, cuts of that size cannot possibly be carried out in one year without wrecking the social fabric of the city and state.

He called for a broad bipartisan agreement, involving labor unions and the private sector, to reform health care, the welfare system and other parts of government, bringing the deficits down over a period of years, not months. That would take a credible plan and long-term financing because in the short term it would mean more debts. But he observed ruefully and correctly that no one around today is providing the leadership or vision for such a strategy.

Mr. Rohatyn was hardly alone in declaring that Mr. Carey's brand of leadership does not exist today. Without the former Governor's vision and even his sense of humor, the city might not have been rescued from the brink. Like Mr. Pataki, Mr. Carey took office seemingly unaware of the depth of the crisis he faced. He proclaimed immediately that "the days of wine and roses are over," but then went on to tap the strength of diverse forces to build a tradition of cooperation that towers over what exists today. He made the impossible seem inevitable. That is not a bad legacy for anyone to build on. STEVEN R. WEISMAN



# Earth Days Have Become Earth Years

By Al Gore

**Y**ESTERDAY, even as our thoughts and prayers were focused on the tragedy in Oklahoma City, we took time to remember that 25 years ago, a simple idea for a teaching exercise involving 20 million people that changed the course of history. Following the first Earth Day, our nation built from scratch the most advanced health and environmental safeguards in the world. It is a great American success story that proves the old-fashioned idea that individuals can make a difference, that when the people speak, their leaders can listen and do something about it. It ought to be a source of inspiration.

After all, in the past 25 years, we've cut air pollution by a third, even though we drive twice as many cars twice as many miles as we did then. We've cut emissions of lead by 98 percent, and countless children are the better for it. Twice as many

rivers and lakes are safe for swimming. And where 25 years ago boxes and beer cans lined the roadways, today people of all ages are recycling in 6,000 community programs.

What now? Where do we go from here and how do we get there? On the day after the first Earth Day, The New York Times wrote: "Conservatives were for it. Liberals were for it. Democrats, Republicans, and independents were for it. So were the Ins, the Outs, the Executive and legislative branches of Government." Today, that support is still there. Recent polls show that 53 percent of the people think government action to protect the environment does not go far enough, while another 23 percent think we are on the right track. Only 16 percent think government regulation on the environment has gone too far.

Al Gore is Vice President of the United States and author of "Earth in the Balance."



Brad Holland

But this time, bipartisanship is hanging by a thread. The Republican Congress is pushing an extreme anti-environmental agenda. It would freeze all health and environmental protection, effectively repeal 25 years of health protection through a "risk assessment" bill and allow industry to hold up environmental safeguards through endless lawsuits. It would even require taxpayers to pay polluters not to pollute.

The Republicans have turned over the legislative process to lobbyists. The freeze on new health, safety and environmental standards was written by a coalition of wealthy special-interest lobbyists, who were even given a room off the House floor to

write amendments and furnish talking points for lawmakers. The Senate committee used lobbyists to explain the legislation to staff. And the committee worked side by side with lobbyists to write loopholes into the Clean Water Act.

So this time, the future will bring two struggles: the first, to prevent the rollback of the gains we have made, and the second, to reinvent environmental protection in order to make further gains. On the first, we will fight. On the second, we will join with those who want to build on the lessons learned since 1970.

What have we learned? First, collaborative processes work better than adversarial ones. Second, flexibility works better than one-size-fits-all dictates. Third, Washington doesn't have all the answers, and we should shift some responsibilities from central bureaucracies to local communities. Fourth, pollution is often a sign of economic inefficiency, and you can make money by preventing it.

increased availability of family planning services, a commitment to improving women's health, the empowerment of women and a reduction in infant and child mortality.

We are implementing a comprehensive national strategy to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions to 1990 levels in the year 2000 — a commitment renewed last month in Berlin. Already, more than 800 of the nation's electric utility companies have signed voluntary pledges to limit greenhouse-gas emissions.

Similarly, in London, the U.S. took the lead among the world's nuclear powers and achieved a global ban on ocean dumping of radioactive waste. The U.S. was the first of the nuclear powers to advocate the ban. We have also succeeded in creating a whale sanctuary in the southern ocean around Antarctica. Commercial whaling will now be prohibited in an enormous area of the ocean that is home to three-quarters of the world's whales.

So while others may conclude that the future of our environment is unclear, I am optimistic. And so is the President, who has made it clear that he will fight hard to prevent a return to the days before that first Earth Day 25 years and one day ago. As he said in Dallas on March 16: "I cannot and will not compromise any clean water, any clean air, any protection against toxic waste. The environment cannot protect itself. And if it requires a Presidential veto to protect it, then that's what I'll provide."

## Foreign Affairs THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

### Beirut, Okla.

In my office at home, just behind my desk, I keep one picture to remind me of the years I spent as a reporter in Beirut and Jerusalem. The picture is of a lovely old tree, its limbs stretched wide, perched on the banks of the Sea of Galilee. It is a picture of biblical serenity. But if you look at it more closely you'll notice that at the foot of the tree is a small steel drum poking out of the rocks. Atop it is a sign that reads: "Security Hole." It is for bomb disposal. Should you come upon a suspicious roadside package you're supposed to dump it there — and don't forget to put the lid back on.

That was Beirut and Jerusalem — scenes of splendor, terrific vistas, but always, off in the corner, some jagged edge, something either blowing up or threatening to blow up, so that you could never quite relax and take your shoes off. Which brings me to Oklahoma City.

After the bombing I kept hearing newscasters say, "It's like Beirut." Being like Beirut, though, means something more ominous than just having a public building blown open like a doll house. Beirut in the 1980's was a nightmare not only for the actual car bombs but for their aftermath — the way they forced the survivors to alter their daily lives in a

very sorry he died. But — and this may be a terrible thing to say — I also felt a kind of relief. Like, O.K., that's all for our family now; we have made our contribution to the odds.

"It always reminds me," she added, "of the joke about the man who carries a bomb with him whenever he goes on an airplane, because the odds against there being two bombs on one plane are much higher. . . . I find that when I am in a building I sometimes start to wonder: If a bomb were to go off right now, where is the best place for me to be standing? Should I be under the door frame? Or next to the stairs, or near a wall? I know there is nothing I could really do, but I can't stop myself from thinking about it or making little adjustments."

Is there any escaping that here? There is only one way — by understanding the difference between Oklahoma City and Beirut. Car bombers operated easily in Lebanon because of the freedom that comes from a society that has collapsed. Car bombers operated easily in Oklahoma City because of the freedom that comes from a democracy in full flourish. In Beirut, the car bomb was a symptom of a Lebanese way of life that had broken down. In Oklahoma City, the car bomb is an assault on an American way of life that is still thriving.

The Oklahoma terrorists can still win if they can rob us of that freedom, if they can get us to imprison ourselves within our own office buildings, within our own laws and within our own daily routines. That is why the battle against them doesn't stop with their arrest. There is an ongoing battle that all Americans must wage within themselves — a battle against the fear that destroys the foundations of a free society.

I hope that a day care center reopens right next door to the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. I hope that the Oklahoma Symphony Orchestra plays a concert there next week. I hope that the office workers there rollerblade and picnic on the sidewalks as soon as the rubble is cleared.

Alexander Hamilton once observed that America is an experiment, which the whole world is watching, to see whether a society can be based on the principle of freedom rather than fear. This is an experiment we cannot fail.

I kept the picture of that tree on my wall all these years to remind me of where I've been, not where I live — to remind me of a place called Beirut, not a place called home.

### Our battle against fear.

thousand ways to cope with a city in which the ordinary automobile became an instrument of death, to be feared and avoided at all costs.

The first thing you noticed living in Beirut was how instinctively you learned to scan a street, see which side had the most cars parked along it, and then walked on the other side. You never leaned on a car in Beirut. You never let a stranger park outside your shop or home, if you could avoid it. You always stayed away from old cars.

The mind games to relieve the fear were endless. Dalia Ezzedine, a young Lebanese Red Cross worker I got to know in Beirut after seeing her at so many car bombings, used to get through her day by making probability calculations. She once told me: "I had a cousin who died recently. I was

## Journal

FRANK RICH

### Bountiful

Fifty-four years ago this week a young man from Texas named Horton Foote made his playwrighting debut in New York with a drama called "Texas Town." Brooks Atkinson, the critic of The Times, declared it a "feat of magic."

Last week and some 50 plays later, Mr. Foote, now 79, won the Pulitzer Prize for Drama for "The Young Man From Atlanta." In the intervening half-century, he has passed through Broadway during its Golden Age — Lillian Gish starred in his "Trip to Bountiful" in 1953 — and won two Oscars in Hollywood (for "To Kill a Mockingbird" and "Tender Mercies"). But, incredibly, Mr. Foote is now in some ways back where he started in the theater. Not only is he still writing about the same Texans but his Pulitzer-winning play, just like "Texas Town," was staged on a shoestring in a tiny Off Broadway playhouse.

To be exact, only 1,700 people saw "The Young Man From Atlanta" during its four weeks at a 75-seat theater in NoHo — fewer than see "Show Boat" in a single night. Though the play received good reviews, no producer moved it to a larger home off Broadway, let alone on, for an extended run — so financially risky has it become to mount a serious drama requiring nine actors in the commercial theater. Even now, post-Pulitzer, "The Young Man From Atlanta" is not assured a future New York production. If Mr. Foote's plays have much to tell audiences about the psychic fissures lying just beneath the surface of middle-class American life in this century, what does it also say about America that playwrights of his stature must now fight to be heard?

The Off Broadway company that produced Mr. Foote's Pulitzer play, the Signature Theater, is four years old. It was started by James Houghton, 36, whose singular passion drove him to create a theater unlike any other in the United States. Each season is devoted to a single writer, who is kept in residence to participate in four full productions of his plays.

"We're the lucky ones," says Mr. Houghton, pointing to his company's dramatic rise in subscribers (up 1,300 percent this year), its high-quality artistic personnel and the enthusiastic audiences who "want to shake Horton Foote's hand in the lobby." But even with attendance averaging 96 percent of capacity, ticket sales still can contribute only about 30 percent of his theater's

modest \$200,000 annual budget. And the budget is only that low because everyone, from Mr. Foote down, is paid next to nothing. Ralph Waite, who came from California to star in "The Young Man From Atlanta," earned \$400 for his eight weeks' work. Mr. Houghton's yearly salary, by far the Signature's highest, is \$24,000, on which he must support a wife and two infant children in an apartment in Hell's Kitchen.

Mr. Houghton isn't complaining; he's doing what he wants and loves it. But every day energy must be siphoned off to the financial struggle. Besides the constant chase after contributions, the company is searching for a new home, probably at five times the rent of the bargain space it is losing. For all the talk of the "privatizing" that will theoretically rescue arts companies after Newt Gingrich, George Pataki and Rudolph Giuliani maim government funding, the Signature Theater, no matter how culturally important, is too young and small to attract significant corporate grants.

I served on the Pulitzer jury that chose Mr. Foote as one of the three

### Horton Foote's Pulitzer Prize.

drama finalists this year. I am overjoyed that he won. But no prize, however lustrous, should obscure the fact that even he, after a half-century performing feats of theatrical magic, has no guarantee that his work will be staged in our cultural capital.

If "The Young Man From Atlanta" could be seen now, what a catharsis it would offer audiences whose lives or hearts have been touched by the horrors of Oklahoma City. Set in the cocky Houston of 1950, it tells of a couple whose bedrock belief in America and in God takes them just so far when their only son, a World War II hero, inexplicably kills himself.

Months after seeing this play, I can still hear Mr. Waite's gruff voice swell unexpectedly on the line "I just want my son back," keeping company with the rest of us who have known inconsolable grief. Great artists like Horton Foote give us this, and more. Why do we give them so little in return?

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There have been other actions taken in this spirit. The Partnership for a New Generation of Vehicles between Government and industry will develop vehicles up to three times more fuel efficient than today's — and strengthen our competitiveness. A new incineration policy will result in a 95 percent reduction in emissions of dangerous pollutants. The proposed reform of the Superfund program will make life safer for the one in four Americans who still live near a toxic dump site, 14 years after Love Canal. Too much money that should have gone to clean up toxic dumps was spent on lawyers.

We are also pursuing new approaches on the international front. At the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, in Cairo, the U.S. helped forge a historic consensus on a global program to stabilize population growth through

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## FILM

## A Passage to Hawaii: The Picture Brides' Tale

By SHERYL DARE

From 1908 TO 1924, more than 20,000 Asian women, most of them Japanese, crossed the Pacific to the American territory of Hawaii to marry the Japanese plantation workers who had settled there. Their marriages were arranged by a nakodo, or go-between, who would exchange letters and photographs between the bride's family and the prospective groom. For these so-called picture brides — the subject of a new movie that opens on Friday — life in an American territory was a shock, filled with privation and physical hardship.

One of the few surviving picture brides in Hawaii is Ayako Kikugawa, now 95 years old. Today Mrs. Kikugawa lives with three generations of her family in a house in Wahiawa, not far from the cane fields where she once worked.

Speaking in Japanese through an interpreter, the great-grandmother recalled that when she first arrived in Honolulu in 1918, at age 18, she didn't realize she was a picture bride; she had made the trip thinking she was merely bringing her male cousin back to Japan with her.

"When I came to the immigration station, I thought to myself, I have never seen my cousin even once," she said, sitting by a window as her great-grandchildren played nearby. "All the brides were told to stand behind their wisteria-vine trunks. Then all the husbands filed in. The women were anxious to see what kind of husband they were going to get and nudged each face as they came in. Just then, a man paused in front of my trunk to read my name. He looked up and said, 'Are you Ayako?' I replied, 'Yes.'"

"I just followed my trunk and got out of the immigration station. There was no marriage ceremony, nothing."

However surprised Mrs. Kikugawa was to find that her name had been entered into the family registry as her cousin's wife, she recalled that she tried not to show it. "You had to accept, no matter what," she said matter-of-factly. "My father had decided it."

The film maker Kayo Hatta, who is in her early 30's, remembers as a child listening with fascination to her grandmothers' accounts of the picture brides they had known; years later she decided to turn their stories into a feature film. Set in 1918, "Picture Bride" tells of Riyo (Youki Kudoh), a young Tokyo girl whose troubled family history compels her to journey to Hawaii to take up

life in the cane fields with a man 20 years her senior. Shown recently at the Sundance Film Festival, the film, a dark-horse entry, walked away with the coveted Audience Award for best dramatic movie.

Ms. Hatta, who directed and, with her sister Mari Hatta, wrote the script, acknowledges that it was pure ignorance and naïveté on her part to start her career "with a period film set on location, partly in Japanese, with costumes, horses, babies, special effects, fire — everything that people tell you not to do on your first feature, especially if it's low-budget." The film cost only \$2 million.

Five years in the making, "Picture Bride" was burdened with enough problems to tell an experienced director. Midway into filming, Ms. Hatta relates, her start-up funds from the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, along with a hefty assist from the State of Hawaii, ran out. The film's star, Ms. Kudoh (who is famous as a pop singer in Japan), came to the rescue by appealing to a Japanese clothing manufacturer for a \$500,000 contribution. But not until Miramax entered the picture after seeing a rough cut in July 1993 and kicked in enough money to cover the rest of the budget could Ms. Hatta complete her project.

Post-production was even more troubled. The film was originally scheduled to debut at the 1994 Sundance Festival when Ms. Hatta abruptly withdrew it. After extensive reshooting and editing, the movie was shown at the Cannes International Film Festival last year. It finally had its belated American premiere at Sundance earlier this year.

Explaining her decision to withdraw from Sundance in 1994, Ms. Hatta says: "That was certainly my lowest moment, but the film simply wasn't ready. We needed to finish the music; there was massive subtitling to do. Being a first-timer, I was over-optimistic about gauging how long things took."

"Picture Bride" will start its run as the big Hawaiian sugar plantations, so lushly portrayed in the film, are shutting down, casualties of global competition and economic hard times. The irony of such timing is not lost on Ms. Hatta.

"Plantation life has been vanishing for some time," she said, "so I felt it was very important to remember the way it had once been. I was lucky to have shot the film before all the cane fields got turned into golf courses."

When she began researching the film, Ms. Hatta said, she was also fortunate to have been able to talk to several women who had come over as picture brides. At that time, they were already in their 80's and 90's, and



Youki Kudoh, left, and Tamlyn Tomita in the film "Picture Bride," which opens Friday.

most of them have since died. "In the beginning," she said, "these old women had difficulty opening up to me, but because Barbara Kawakami, one of the historical consultants to the film, had come to know them so well through her own research for her book on Japanese immigrant clothing, they did open up finally, sensing that this project was a tribute to their past."

"I would ask them about even the most intimate details of their lives — like what the first night with their husbands was like. There was a lot of laughing and giggling at these sessions, as well as a lot of tears and painful memories."

Mrs. Kikugawa was one picture bride who

shared her story. On this day, she said: "My husband was a good man. Sometimes we were so poor I would collect weeds along the road and boil them for our dinner. My husband was very gentle. He never gambled." He died in 1974.

Though mutual affection developed between them, she said: "I was very homesick in the beginning. I prayed towards the direction of the setting sun, thinking that Japan would be in that direction. One day my husband bought me a Buddhist altar and told me, 'You pray at nothing every day, so I bought you this altar.'" Mrs. Kikugawa keeps this altar among her prized possessions.

Ms. Hatta added: "Gaman, which means

perseverance; enryo, which is holding in your emotions, and shigata ganai, which is a sense that 'this is fate, it can't be helped, so just make the best of the situation' — these were important values to these women. Most endured because they had to. In the end, their marriages were extremely stable, producing children and grandchildren who are successful people in Hawaii today."

"Long ago," she went on, "being a picture bride was something almost to be ashamed of in Japanese families. It was old-fashioned, sort of like a stigma. I wanted to show that these women were not the geisha stereotype of the fragile and delicate Japanese female. I hope this film will validate their strength."

## The Man Behind 'Crumb'

By MICHAEL SRAGOW

SAN FRANCISCO Near the start of the acclaimed documentary "Crumb," the gonzo cartoon artist Robert Crumb, the movie's subject, explains to an audience at a Philadelphia art school that he's best known for three things: the "Keep on Truckin'" graphic, which even now can be seen on mud flaps everywhere; his cover for the album "Cheap Thrills" by Big Brother and the Holding Company (featuring Janis Joplin); and his comic character Fritz the Cat, who became the star of a full-length animated cartoon (made by someone else) that Mr. Crumb says "will be an embarrassment to me for the rest of my life." From here on in, though, he may be better known as the focal point of "Crumb," a possibility that has sent Mr. Crumb into an existential panic.

The man responsible is Terry Zwigoff, a San Francisco-based film maker. Mr. Zwigoff, 46, says he met the artist in the early 1970's while preparing to publish an animal rights comic book. Mr. Zwigoff had the idea that Mr. Crumb would adapt "A Mother's Tale," James Agee's harrowing post-Holocaust parable about cattle led to slaughter. The cartoonist reacted sarcastically: "Oh, you want to do a be-kind-to-animals comic; very nice." Mr. Crumb warmed to the project, however, and contributed a cover and a story that Mr. Zwigoff said looked a bit like "The Itchy and Scratchy Show," the mouse-gore-cat cartoon from "The Simpsons."

This collaboration brought about a close friendship — "we had a similar sense of humor: sick, or something" — and eventually Mr. Zwigoff's movie "Crumb." A critical and popular hit at several film festivals, it won the grand jury prize at Sundance; earlier, when it played at the New York Film Festival in September, Stephen Holden of The New York Times said it was "riveting," offering "an astonishingly unguarded portrait" of Mr. Crumb and "his seriously dysfunctional family." The documentary opened in theaters on Friday.

When Mr. Zwigoff tried to budget the project nine years ago, potential investors told him they wanted a jollier movie, with period clips of Haight-Ashbury and a jumpy MTV style. But Mr. Zwigoff was intent on

exploring, in an intimate, unhurried way, the roots of the artist who was behind the most caustic social and sexual satires of the 60's and beyond.

The production money gradually came together (some of it from the "Simpsons" creator, Matt Groening) and the finished movie has the support of an impressive kindred spirit: David Lynch, the writer and director of "Blue Velvet." He was happy to provide the film with a "David Lynch Presents" tag because, he said, the movie does three things: "One, it gives a full picture of the 60's, the whole ball of wax. Two, it shows one of the most unbelievable families I've ever seen. And three, better than any other film, it depicts the life and drives of an artist."

In "Crumb," the cartoonist talks about old blues, jazz and string-band records as uncontaminated expressions of common humanity. Under



"Keep on Truckin'."

his influence, Mr. Zwigoff, too, began to collect 78's and to play cello and mandolin for revival bands like "R. Crumb and the Cheap Suit Serenaders." Mr. Zwigoff's movie debut was "Louie Blute," a documentary about a black string-band musician; soon after it opened in 1985, he started "Crumb." Clearly, the film maker's obsessions overlap with his subject's: Mr. Zwigoff was able to cheat a shot of Mr. Crumb's 78's by photographing his own.

Discussing the film in his hillside home, a 1909 structure studded with the Crumb clan's drawings and paintings, Mr. Zwigoff said he considered Robert Crumb a great artist. "Knowing him and his work has changed the way I see the world," the director said. "In the late 70's, I was a welfare eligibility case worker, and Robert was staying with me for a while. When I got home from the job one day, he was sitting on the doorstep, sketching; he wasn't draw-

ing the view down the hill but the house across the street, and he concentrated on the electric wires crisscrossing overhead, which I'd never noticed."

"In some ways," Mr. Zwigoff said, "I felt a responsibility to do this movie because I thought no one else would know how to do it. I wasn't going to hide the fact that I was friends with the guy." At the same time, the film maker said, he was intent on "being as honest about my subject, Crumb, as Crumb is in his work."

"I hope that the movie has broader aspects, too," he said. "It's about what it's like to be an outsider, how sometimes that's an advantage, though not usually. And it has something to say about growing up in American families in the 50's."

In the film, Mr. Zwigoff introduces the audience to Mr. Crumb's family and friends. Among them is Mr. Crumb's younger brother, Max, a gifted painter who confesses to having molested women and now practices ascetic rites (he regularly sits on a bed of nails).

Then there is, perhaps most disturbingly, Mr. Crumb's older brother, Charles, a brilliant recluse who was the family's first comic-book prodigy. The first material Mr. Zwigoff shot was of Charles and Robert talking in Charles's bedroom at their mother's home in Philadelphia. Prospective backers in Los Angeles didn't know what to make of hermetic, medicated Charles decrying contemporary culture and baring household wounds. But Lynn O'Donnell, a fellow San Franciscan who was Mr. Zwigoff's producer, said the portrait of Charles had moved her so much she said, "The whole film could be Robert and Charles, sitting in that room."

Charles was the one who organized all his siblings, including two sisters who declined to be interviewed for the movie. Into the "Animaltown Comics Club." Yet for Charles, unlike Robert, art didn't supply a route out into the world. As David Lynch said, "His comic books illustrate the trip into insanity that put him into this little bedroom."

Ms. O'Donnell encouraged Mr. Zwigoff both to focus on the family and to reveal the mysteries of Robert and his brothers' childhood slowly, so that only at the end does the tragic picture of madness, brutality and repression become complete. To Mr. Zwigoff, it was a way of persuading the audience "that these people weren't just crazy and eccentric, that if you'd spend some time with them you'd see that they were smart and talented and had a lot to tell you."

## LITERARY TOP TEN

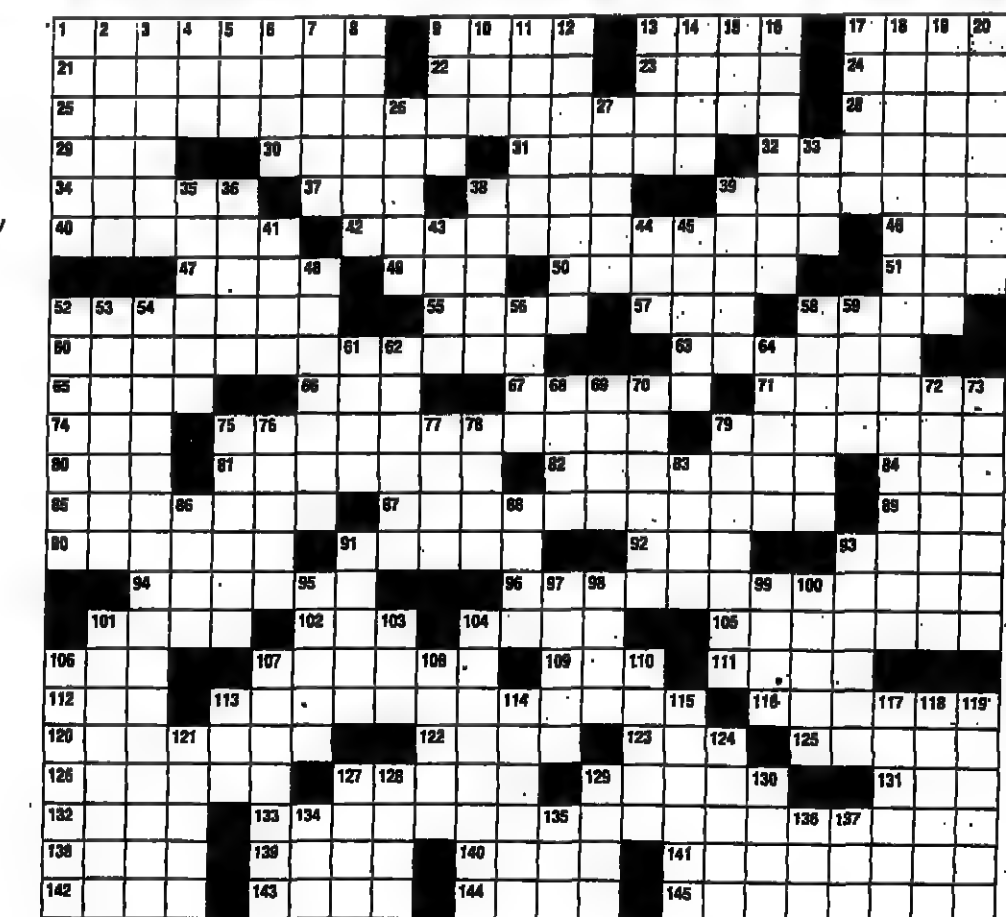
By RANDOLPH ROSS / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

## ACROSS

- 1 Prospective
- 9 Air Force facility
- 13 Peaches' singing partner
- 17 Kind of number
- 21 Writer's voice
- 22 "To Autumn" and others
- 23 Colleague of Jimmy and Bjorn
- 24 Western Indian
- 25 Kurt Vonnegut novel
- 28 Lady of Spain
- 29 Many, many years
- 30 Eastern prince
- 31 First name in morning TV
- 32 Rang
- 34 "What —"
- 37 Prefix with system
- 38 Confessed
- 39 Lodges troops
- 40 Archeological site
- 42 Louisa May Alcott novel
- 46 Bank deposit?
- 47 "Three men in —"
- 49 A small one is white
- 50 Denouement
- 51 Verb tense: Abbr.
- 52 Discounted
- 55 Autos since 1989
- 57 Funny
- 58 It may have several scenes
- 60 Anna Quindlen best seller
- 63 Put aside, in a way
- 65 Lang of comics' Smallville

- 66 — Canals
- 67 Earned status
- 71 Like a used car
- 74 Certain joint
- 75 A. A. Milne title
- 79 Observant type
- 80 Miss Piggy's pronoun
- 81 Per team
- 82 One way to rest
- 84 Hardly friendly
- 85 Kind of political party
- 87 J. D. Salinger collection
- 89 Whip
- 90 Some doubles
- 91 Feast of Saint — (January event)
- 92 Part of R.S.V.P.
- 93 Term of address at court
- 94 Embellished
- 96 Chekhov work, with The

- 101 British levy
- 102 — Lingus
- 104 Scout of "Charles in Charge"
- 105 Opens for viewing
- 106 — disant (self-styled)
- 107 Addison's partner
- 108 Scale meas.
- 111 Exam for jrs.
- 112 White-tailed flier
- 113 T. S. Eliot opus
- 116 "M\*A\*S\*H" protocol
- 120 Made sense
- 122 Debate arguments
- 123 G.I. address
- 125 Nape
- 126 Historic German city



- 127 Put out
- 129 Paul Anka's first hit
- 131 Yeoman's yes
- 132 Kyrgyzstan's Mountains
- 133 Aeschylus tragedy
- 138 It gets a brushoff
- 139 By means of
- 140 Melody
- 141 One for the road?
- 142 Female sweetheart
- 143 — a one
- 144 Assistants, e.g.
- 145 Reconnissance craft

- 1 Defeat an incumbent
- 2 Picasso's daughter
- 3 Rubberneck
- 4 Tulsa case
- 5 S.I. or TV Guide
- 6 Spillane's "Jury"
- 7 Words of denial
- 8 Alexander's home
- 9 1922 Physics Nobel
- 10 Fuss
- 11 Subject of "Sunday in the Park With George"
- 12 Cores
- 13 CD player ancestor
- 14 Some Ivy Leaguers
- 15 "6 Rms —" Vi
- 16 Paving
- 17 Most common, statistically
- 18 Dickens classic
- 19 Eventuate
- 20 Disk jockey's need
- 26 Do a second lube job

- 27 Prod
- 33 Loop loopers
- 35 "In the Heat of the Night" setting
- 36 Pear-shaped instrument
- 38 Radiance
- 39 Handcuffs
- 41 Projecting skirt
- 42 Oscar-winning musical
- 44 Japanese vegetable
- 45 Weatherized a house
- 48 Candle contents
- 52 Broadway composer Cy
- 53 Accompanied
- 54 Agatha Christie mystery
- 56 Grimm character
- 58 Mountain ridges
- 59 When repeated, midding, in Milano
- 61 Trucks for hire
- 62 Garden work
- 64 "Operator" singer
- 68 Garage sale caveat
- 69 TV control knob
- 70 Uncover
- 72 Smiley's creator
- 73 Cause of a cough
- 75 Dilarists
- 76 — off (sporadically)
- 77 Score after duces
- 78 Art Nouveau jeweler Lalique
- 79 Seals, as a crate
- 83 Buffalo's county
- 86 — blue as blue..
- 88 "Como — used?"

- 91 "Doe, —"
- 93 Interference
- 95 Enjoy thoroughly
- 97 Sword handles
- 98 Ring wear
- 99 Scholarly org.
- 100 Battle souvenirs
- 101 The "Her" of "Her voice was ever soft, gentle and low"
- 103 Must-take coll. course
- 104 University of Cincinnati team
- 106 Hurricane protection
- 107 Loses a liking for
- 108 Plant of the pea family

- 110 Bad mark
- 113 Medicine testing agency
- 114 Bad booze
- 115 Involuntary actions
- 117 Boot-shaped land
- 118 Most happy-go-lucky
- 119 Discharges
- 121 Discharges
- 124 Victorious
- 127 By any chance
- 128 Muchio
- 129 Regular fare
- 130 A.B.A. member
- 134 Foerster opera
- 135 Literary collection
- 136 Fireplace shelf
- 137 Ranch suffix

## ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

CRU SYAIR SPASHS GYS  
NON PALNE CANTATA ONE  
INDIANAPOLISJONES MEI  
SORES ISO SOW PEOPLE  
FROM FAS ETTU PAVLOVS  
HAM KASHMIRI DISEASE  
ERE ITS OLYMPIATRIVING  
SID HIJATA ELAND ITON  
SAGE GUITAR ALOES IOU  
SWEETATLANAARROWN  
GOLD HELM QUEEN  
PAD ASHER DEJURE SCAN  
ERAS TOWED EARNIS ALLI  
RICHMONDWOODE ITTO NFO  
ORIOLES PROPLETEN MAR  
SCARLET MARY MOTO MIRO  
TUCKIN PAN ANA SOBO  
AOK NASHVILLEILLIANTS  
THE BROODING RADIO LEO  
POR TOSSES DYING SON

Michael Sragow writes about movies and other cultural matters for The New Yorker, The Atlantic and other publications.



les' Tale



# How to get a child off the bottle and back in bed

PARENTING  
RUTH MASON

UNTIL our son was about two, he would wake up at 5 a.m., we would give him a milk bottle and he would go back to sleep. (The dentist says his teeth are fine.) About six months ago, when he was three, he started demanding to come into our bed for the bottle and, not wanting to put up with his screams in the middle of the night, we let him. Then, he started demanding two or sometimes three bottles a night. It's been a long time since we've had a full night's uninterrupted sleep. We want to put a stop to this but aren't sure how.

We asked experts with different approaches to answer the question.

Tom Gumpel, PhD, behavior analyst, Hebrew University School of Education:

If you gave me a milk bottle, I'd come into your bed at night, too! Everyone goes through a cycle of deep sleep and near-waking or waking and going back to sleep. Children need to learn to segue from one sleep cycle into another.

Talk with your child and explain your plan to him. When he comes into your room, put him back in his bed without making a big deal out of it: no excess talk, no lights, no anger. Simply say, in a quiet voice, "I'm taking you back to bed." You may pat him to calm him down, but don't hug him. You don't want to give him a payoff for getting out of bed.

Simultaneously, you want to reward him for staying in bed. You can do this on two levels: In the morning, he can get a star (which he puts on a chart) if he went back to bed when Mommy said to. He gets two stars for not getting out of bed at all. If he gets stars for three days in a row, he gets a treat. Three stars will mean a small payoff, four to five, a medium payoff and six a huge payoff. Mom and Dad should stand together and make a big deal out of the ritual of putting on the stars.

Remember, a 3½-year-old does not need a bottle at night, and you should go cold turkey on stopping this. You've created and reinforced his coming out of bed for a long time. It's going to take a few sleepless nights and a great deal of resilience to change this habit. Once you decide, there is no backing down. Intermittent reinforcement not only reinforces the behavior, it makes it nearly impossible to eradicate.

Debby Porten, family therapist at the Shiluv Institute, Jerusalem:

It's important that both parents agree they're ready for this change. It will be very hard to do if one parent is ambivalent or if one wants the



G H F R E E D M A N - B. A. Q 9 5

child in their bed and one doesn't.

There is no easy way to do this. Frame it in a positive way to the child. You can say something like, "You're big now. You go to nursery school. You play with friends and it's time for you to sleep all night in your own bed." But don't expect him to say, "Great. I'm big now. I'll go." The two of you will have to support each other through a period when he comes back and wants in.

Tell him ahead of time what will happen. If he comes, one of you should take him back to bed and stay with him for a few minutes until he's calm. Or, he can come in for a hug and then get taken back to his bed.

Be sure to allow for a transition period. For some children this may be one night, for others, several weeks. This is a very big separation for the child. Some children will have a hard time getting used to it.

There's no reason to go cold turkey. Parents have every right to have their bed to themselves again and it's good for the child to realize he can stay alone. But with any big change, it's good to let children get used to a transition as comfortably and gradually as possible.

Dror Zandman, clinical psychologist and coordinator, Habayit Hayarok, a psychological drop-in center in Jerusalem for parents and children up to three years of age:

The nighttime bottle is really a question for the doctor and the dentist. If the doctor says the child can do without it, speak to your son about it. If he agrees to stop, fine. But if he doesn't want to, don't fight it. (Unless the doctor or dentist has said he must stop for health reasons.)

The bottle may be this child's transitional object, the equivalent of some children's pacifier or teddy bear or piece of old blanket. It is seen by the child as a magical object, the means by which he connects his inner reality with the outer world. And it's very important for his psychological development.

If you don't want to wake up at night, leave a bottle or two by the child's bedside table. Slowly, he'll lose his need for it.

There is nothing wrong with a child this age sleeping in his parents' bed if the parents don't mind and if this is in accordance with the family's values and traditions. You don't have to wage this war if you don't want to.

But if you want to stop this behavior, you

have to be willing to devote several or perhaps many nights to this project. Each time your son comes in, his father should take him back to his bed and sit with him patiently until he falls asleep. The child may have fears and anxieties that prevent him from falling asleep and his father's calm presence will help him overcome them. Dad can read him a story or pat his back or head.

It's usually easier if the father does this, but the parents can take turns if necessary. Eventually, the child will get used to sleeping in his own bed. This can take one night or several weeks, but the parents' investment of time is well worth it if they want their bed back.

The American Academy of Pediatrics has a guidelines for parents on this topic. To receive a copy, send a self-addressed, business-sized envelope with US stamps to cover postage to Israel to: American Academy of Pediatrics, Dept. C, ("Sleep Problems in Children"), P.O. Box 927, Elk Grove Village, Ill. 60009-0927, USA.

If you have a question about parenting, write to: Parenting, POB 81, 91000 Jerusalem.

# New smugglers be foul the air

EARTHLY CONCERNS  
DYORA BEN SHAUL

IT is axiomatic that when a substance is prohibited or restricted by law, a black market for it will almost immediately develop. Just as the prohibition of alcoholic beverages in the US in the 1920s and early '30s gave rise to the proliferation of bootlegging, smuggling, illegal manufacturing and hijacking, so the banning of certain drugs has prompted the growth of multibillion dollar cartels, such as those in South America. The same is true of prohibited firearms and military materiel.

It is therefore no real surprise that as laws protecting natural resources and the quality of the environment become more and more stringent, a totally new type of offender has come into being. In a relatively short period the illegal trafficking in endangered species of birds, mammals, reptiles and even plants and insects has become the third most profitable activity - after drugs and arms.

Today's new type of smuggler deals in prohibited nuclear materials, banned pesticides, chemicals used in the production of biological weapons, cultures of lethal bacteria and, of all things, CFCs, the ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons that are banned by the Montreal Protocol, a set of conventions tailored for the protection of the environment.

These CFCs are widely used in refrigeration and air-conditioning systems, as well as propellants in aerosol containers. Most of the industrialized nations have signed the Montreal Protocol, banning the use of these materials within their borders, but few have banned the production of such materials and many, including some of the most puritanical advocates of the ban, market them in less developed countries.

Two months ago seven shipments of CFC-12 arrived in the US from Felixstowe in England. The materials, believed to have been produced in England, were theoretically destined for Mexico where their continued use is still legal. But they were instead sent, with falsified customs declarations and shipping orders, to Miami, Florida, where they were destined to be sold to garages and service facilities for use in recharging vehicle air conditioners. The use of CFC-12 for this purpose is prohibited in the US.

American authorities arrested two US citizens, Ari Dara Dubash and Homi Patel. The materials confiscated were worth, on the black market, about \$2.5 million. It was the largest seizure of ozone-depleting materials to date. The two have been charged with violating the Clean Air Act, criminal conspiracy and illegal diversion of cargo. If found guilty in a federal court the two men face sentences of 20 years in prison and fines of up to \$2.2 million.

The pair are the first to be charged under the Clean Air Act. But federal prosecutors in the US are optimistic. "If a black market develops, it means that the laws are working. Our job is to crack down on those who would endanger the earth for their personal gain."

# High Court - Sanctions at Bezek went beyond limits

LAW REPORT  
ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the Supreme Court, sitting as a High Court of Justice, before Justices Dov Levin, Michael Cheshin and Zvi Tal, in the matter of the attorney-general and Bezek, petitioners, versus the General Labor Federation (Histadrut) and others, respondents (H.C. 107493).

BEZEK, a "public service" in terms of Part IV of the Settlement of Labor Disputes Law of 1957, enjoys a concession for some functions under sections 50 and 51 of the Telecommunications Law of 1982.

The government decided to open some of the above functions to competition, and introduced a proposed law amending section 50 above that purpose.

The Bezek employees, supported by the Histadrut, opposed the decision on the ground that it would cause a deterioration in their terms of employment and lead to many dismissals. They therefore declared a labor dispute confirmed by the Histadrut, notifying the chief labor relations officer and Bezek, under section 5 of the 1957 Law.

Bezek then applied to the Tel Aviv District Labor Court to issue an injunction restraining the employees from proceeding with their strike. The court held the proposed strike was unlawful, and issued an injunction. The Histadrut then appealed to the National Labor Court (The Jerusalem Post, March 15, 1993). The employees started sanctions despite the District Court's order, but stopped them before the appeal hearing.

The appeal was allowed, and the attorney-general and Bezek then petitioned the Supreme Court, sitting as a High Court of Justice, to overrule the National Labor Court's decision that the strike was lawful.

JUSTICE LEVIN delivered the first judgment of the court. The Histadrut, he said, had raised the preliminary arguments that the attorney-general had no standing to attack a district labor court judgment before the National Court, and that the whole issue was academic since the strike action had ceased.

Both arguments, he said, were untenable. The attorney-general, having been a party to the appeal before the National Labor Court,

was entitled to appear before the court which reviewed that court's decisions and dealt with his submissions before it. Moreover, section 1 of the Procedure (Appearance of Attorney-General) Ordinance (New Version) of 1968 specifically empowers him to appear in any proceeding in which "any right of the State of Israel or any public right or interest may be affected or involved."

The Supreme Court has also often added that the attorney-general's appearance in such matters is eminently desirable.

On the second point, the court had already ruled that it would deal with an academic question on "an important constitutional issue likely to recur" (the Kach faction case, H.C. 7385, The Jerusalem Post Law Reports, p.32). The present case raised such an issue.

Justice Levin continued that President Judge Menahem Goldberg, delivering the majority judgment of the National Labor Court, had noted that since the legislature tended these days to intervene more than ever as an active party in labor relations, the accepted definitions of a "strike" and an "unprotected strike in the public service" had to be revised.

It followed that not every strike against the government, as opposed to an employer, was a "political strike" and therefore unlawful. The majority then held that the strike in question was an economic and not a political strike, and was lawful. It therefore justified the Histadrut, allowed the appeal, and set aside the injunction issued by the Tel Aviv District Labor Court.

Deputy President of the National Labor Court Judge Ste-

phen Adler held that the strike was unlawful, being mainly political and only partly economic. However, he agreed to the cancellation of the injunction since the employees had returned to work, and the matter was now purely academic.

THE RIGHT to strike as one of the basic freedoms in our society is not in doubt, Justice Levin continued. Indeed, it is now covered by the Basic Law: The Dignity and Freedom of Man, of 1992. Although there is no comprehensive definition of a "strike," it is generally regarded, as the petitioners urged, as being directed against an employer.

However, times have changed, and the increasing intervention by governments in economic issues has given rise to "political strikes" aimed at the authority of the state, as distinguished from "economic strikes" aimed against employers. Citing precedents from Holland, Finland and England, he noted that the above distinction is now also recognized in other democracies.

It thus becomes necessary, he said, to test the legitimacy of the Bezek workers' strike, examining to what extent it was "economic," aimed at improving the strikers' employment conditions, or "political," aimed against the state. The test applied by Judge Adler, "the predominant purpose of the dispute," is important in this context.

Justice Levin then divided strikes into three categories in the light of the above distinction: • Economic strikes against an employer - including the government as an employer - aimed at improving working conditions,

these being regarded as legitimate;

• Purely political strikes against the state, not as an employer, but as laying down economic policy for society as a whole. Such strikes are illegitimate, and should be prevented;

• Quasi-political strikes, falling between the two extremes. In regard to the last category above, if the state authority's action is entirely unconnected with the working conditions of the employees concerned, a strike is illegitimate. However, if although there is no direct connection between such action and their working conditions, it does have some influence on the employees regarding those conditions, the law will allow them "a short protest strike" and no more.

He held that the strike now considered fell, at most, into the second class of category 3. It had no direct connection with working conditions. However, it did influence the employees in that Bezek's monopoly, to which they had become accustomed, was now in danger, and they sensed a threat to their employment security.

Justice Levin then cited section 37A of the Settlement of Labor Disputes Law, permitting some strikes in the public service unconnected with working conditions. He agreed that that provision did afford some support for protest action involving some political content.

After considering the evidence, he was of the opinion that the National Labor Court's majority decision that the strike in question was "economic" was untenable. Moreover, since the employees' action went far beyond a short protest, the injunction issued by the district court was justified, although for other reasons.

Finally, he reiterated the court's rulings that it would not intervene in National Labor Court judgments unless there had been a material error of law or grounds for interference in the interests of justice. However, in view of the National Labor Court's decision, it was appropriate for the Supreme Court to dispel misunderstandings, and lay down the norms applicable to the important issue of political strikes.

Justice Levin proposed, therefore, that the petition be allowed and the District Court's judgment be restored, with no order as to costs.

JUSTICE CHESHIN concurred, making two comments. He was wary, he said, of adding new classifications to existing models. We were in a period of transition, and the introduction of the category of "quasi-political strikes" could create problems. However, he was convinced that the strike in issue went far beyond anything that could be called legitimate, for it was intended to disrupt the legislative process, and was

aimed at the very basis of our democratic society. He agreed with Justice Zamir's judgment in the Israel Women's Network case (H.C. 453-494, The Jerusalem Post, November 21, 1994), that it was inadvisable to include all affronts to human dignity in the rights protected by the Basic Law: The Dignity and Freedom of Man.

Where, as in the Bezek workers' case, the problems at issue could be solved without reference to that law, it should be left for consideration in a more appropriate context.

JUSTICE TAL concurred, stressing the infringement of

democratic values inherent in the strike in issue. He also agreed that the application of the above Basic Law should be left over for later consideration.

FOR THE above reasons the petition was allowed as decided by Justice Levin.

Miriam Rubinstein, director of the civil division of the State Attorney's office, appeared for the attorney-general; Shlomo Bechor appeared for Bezek; Eli Meir-Tal and Ra'anan Kariv appeared for the Histadrut; and Avraham Feingold appeared for the employees.

The judgment was given on April 10, 1995.



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# Maccabi TA retains hoops title with clean sweep of Galil

BRIAN FREEMAN

MACCABI Tel Aviv swept to another National Basketball League championship with a 95-80 romp over Hapoel Galil Elyon at Yad Elihu last night.

Before a packed house, Maccabi won its second straight title, its 25th championship in the last 26 seasons and its 35th overall.

Maccabi, which won the first two games in the best-of-five series 86-70 and 78-73, fell behind 10-7 in the first five minutes.

Terry Dozier started off strong for Galil at both ends of the court, scoring his team's first eight points and igniting another basket with a block.

But then Maccabi smothered its opponents in a 40-19 run the rest of the half, as Galil had no

answer for Radisav Curcic inside or Guy Goodes and Doron Jamchee from the outside.

The northerners were also unable to keep up with Maccabi's fast break, as six first-half turnovers led to several easy baskets.

Oded Katash, the brilliant point guard who keyed Galil's success all season, was disappointing again in the finals. He scored two points and failed to make an impact in any of the three games against Maccabi.

In addition, Galil only went to the foul line for the first time with 25 seconds left in the first half, connecting on both its attempts. Meanwhile, Maccabi was 9-10

from the charity stripe.

If Galil had any hopes of getting back into the game after the break, they were quickly squashed in the second half's opening moments.

Jamchee, who had 15 first-half points, scored 11 more in the first six minutes after the break to bolster Maccabi's advantage to an insurmountable 60-35.

At this point, the Maccabi faithful — already primed for a sweep before the game began — starting bringing down the rafters with victory celebrations as the game deteriorated into an endless exchange of free throws. Jamchee led all scorers with 28

points, while Goodes had an overall great performance with 20 points, six assists and three steals. Curcic chipped in 15 points.

Galil was paced by Dozier and Erez Hazan with 20 points each.

The finals left the impression that, despite the snapping of Maccabi's string of 23 straight titles in 1993, the gap between the champions and the rest of the league is as wide as ever.

Maccabi breezed through the regular season with a league-best 23-3 record and then swept Hapoel Tel Aviv in the semifinals.

Both teams will participate in next season's European Club Championship, but Maccabi's victory ensures an easier seeding in the preliminary round.

## Cosell dies at 77

Post Sports Staff and agencies

HOWARD Cosell, whose flamboyant, caustic style made him the most celebrated and controversial sportscaster of his time and made "Monday Night Football" an American institution, died Sunday. He was 77.

Cosell, who underwent cancer surgery in 1991, died at the Hospital for Joint Diseases in New York, his grandson Justin Co-hane said.

He was the strident, colorful voice of ABC radio and television from 1953 to 1992 — a period of phenomenal growth and change in America's pastimes as television gained millions of viewers and the sports world was tarnished by drugs and greed among athletes and promoters.

Cosell's style both intrigued and irritated listeners but made him one of the best-known and recognizable figures of his time, in or out of sports. One survey found 96 percent of respondents recognized his name; another rated him tops as both the most popular and least popular sportscaster.

His voice was heavy, at times booming, with a nasal twang. He liked to use long words and enunciate them with a finality that defied rejoinder. He was likened to a fundamentalist preacher attacking sin.

He won acclaim as the man "who tells it like it is." Few, high or low, escaped his acid tongue.

"I never sacrificed truth in the name of friendship," he insisted.

He was one of the first sportscasters to acknowledge Muhammad Ali by his new name after he changed it from Cassius Clay. It was Cosell who stood up for Ali when the heavyweight champion refused to enter military service in the Vietnam War and was stripped of his title.

Cosell, born Howard William Cohen, was a great friend of Israel. His involvement with the



TELL IT LIKE IT IS — Howard Cosell listens to a tribute at the Hebrew University in 1991.

country started dramatically at the 1972 Munich Olympics when he found himself broadcasting the events which ended with the massacre of the 11 Israeli athletes. Soon after, he established contact with the North American Friends of the Hebrew University and launched an annual sports dinner with the proceeds earmarked for the university.

"He was then at the height of his fame, and he used it unsparingly on our behalf," said Hebrew University Professor Hillel Ruskin, Chairman of the Howard and Edith Cosell Center for Physical Education, Leisure and Health Promotion.

After nine years of spearheading fundraising efforts for the university's general fund, he helped

establish the center which bears his name. Since 1986, he was one of the center's principal benefactors.

Cosell was born March 25, 1918, in Winston-Salem, NC, the son of a Polish immigrant and grandson of a rabbi. Howard wanted to become a newspaper reporter but his parents urged him to study law. After serving in the military in World War II, he practiced law for nearly 10 years — doing a little sports writing on the side — before going into broadcasting part-time in 1953 as a member of the ABC Radio staff.

He and his wife, Mary Edith "Emmy" Cosell, had two daughters, Jill and Hilary. Their marriage lasted 46 years until her death in 1990.

## Harazi left behind as Israel arrives in Poland

DEREK FATTAL

ISRAEL'S national soccer squad arrived in Poland last night, in readiness for the European Nations' Championship qualifier in Zabrze tomorrow.

Earlier in the day, the squad completed its final training session on home soil.

Injury forced coach Shlomo Scharf to leave Ronen Harazi behind. Shortly after beginning a fitness test, it became clear that the two-goal hero of last September's Group 1 victory over the Poles would not be able to play in the return contest. Instead, Harazi will fly to Belgium tomorrow for specialist treatment on his stomach muscle injury.

Maccabi Herzliya's Ofer Mizrahi looks favorite to take over Harazi's role as center forward, while Ironi Ashdod's Amir Turjeman has been drafted to reinforce the 18-man squad.

There was some brighter news for Scharf yesterday as his players looked in much finer fettle in practice. Team morale seemed to have received a significant boost after the concern voiced over the weekend by the coach over the low spirits within the team's large Maccabi Haifa contingent.

The squad — which is accompanied by the Olympic (under-21) side — is due to train this morning before traveling to Auschwitz in the afternoon to visit the site of the notorious Nazi death camp.

NBA — Saturday's results: Chicago 116, Charlotte 100; Denver 130, Golden State 129 (OT); Portland 109, LA Lakers 104.

### EASTERN CONFERENCE

#### Atlantic Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Orlando	57	24	.704	—
New York	54	27	.667	3
Boston	35	46	.432	22
Miami	31	50	.383	26
New Jersey	29	52	.354	28
Philadelphia	24	57	.296	33
Washington	20	61	.247	37

#### Central Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Indiana	51	30	.630	—
Charlotte	49	32	.605	2
Chicago	47	34	.580	4
Cleveland	43	38	.531	8
Atlanta	42	38	.519	9
Memphis	33	48	.407	18
Detroit	28	53	.344	23

### WESTERN CONFERENCE

#### Midwest Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Antonio	61	20	.753	—
Utah	59	22	.728	2
Houston	47	34	.580	14
Denver	40	41	.494	21
Dallas	38	43	.464	23
Minnesota	21	60	.259	40

#### Pacific Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Phoenix	58	23	.716	—
Seattle	57	24	.704	1
LA Lakers	49	34	.590	10
Portland	43	38	.531	15
Sacramento	39	39	.500	19
Golden State	26	55	.321	32
LA Clippers	16	65	.196	42

\*clinched playoff berth, \*\*clinched conference title, \*\*\*clinched division title

## West Indies win 3rd Test

Ambrose directs Aussie collapse

PORT OF SPAIN (Reuters) — West Indies completed a crushing third Test victory over Australia by nine wickets inside three days yesterday to level the four-Test series at 1-1 with one to play.

Spearheaded by Curtly Ambrose, the West Indian fast bowlers engineered an astonishing Australian collapse in the morning when the tourists lost five wickets for two runs in 15 balls to tilt a low-scoring match decisively in favor of the home side.

The tourists lost their last seven wickets for the addition of only 20 runs and were all out for 105 in just 36.1 overs, giving them a lead of only 97.

The resurgent Caribbean side then tossed salt into Australian wounds by wrapping up victory in just 90 minutes for the loss of only one wicket.

Fittingly, local hero Brian Lara hit the winning runs after skipper Richie Richardson (38 not out) and opener Stuart Williams (42) had steered the side to the brink of victory.

A Lara boundary off Shane Warne's bowling took West Indies to 98-1 and ended an amazing Test match 10 minutes before the scheduled tea break.

It was the first time neither side in a completed Test match had passed 150 in an innings since England beat India at Lord's in 1936.

The low scores were due in part to great fast bowling, with Ambrose unquestionably man-of-the-match.

He picked up four for 20 in the Australian second innings to add to his five for 45.

The Benson and Hedges Cup (55 overs) one-day competition kicked off the English county season yesterday.

### GROUP A

At Leek, Lancashire beat Minor Counties by nine wickets.

At Stockton, Durham beat Leicestershire by 50 runs.

At Nottingham, Nottinghamshire beat Warwickshire by 6 runs.

### GROUP B

At Worcester, Worcestershire beat Scotland by 10 wickets.

At Derby, Derbyshire beat Northamptonshire by 8 wickets.

### GROUP C

At Bristol, Gloucestershire beat Combined Universities by 136 runs.

At Chelmsford, Glamorgan beat Essex by 38 runs.

At Lord's, Middlesex beat Hampshire by 6 wickets.

### GROUP D

At Taunton, Somerset beat Sussex by 54 runs.

At The Oval, Surrey beat Ireland by eight wickets.

### SCOREBOARD

NBL — SATURDAY'S RESULTS: Ottawa 3, NY Islanders 1; Philadelphia 4, New Jersey 3 (OT); Washington 1, Pittsburgh 1; Montreal 3, Tampa Bay 1; Florida 4, Quebec 3; Dallas 6, Toronto 4; Vancouver 6, Edmonton 1.

## Foreman beats Schulz to retain crown

LAS VEGAS (AP) — At the final bell Saturday night, George Foreman looked like an old loser.

Axel Schulz, his corner and his German fans certainly thought Schulz had beaten the 46-year-old Foreman and won the IBF heavyweight championship.

But two of the three judges thought that Foreman had done enough to keep his title.

Foreman, his left eye closed by a knot the size of a golf ball, his legs wobbly, his paunch heaving, was a very weary warrior at the end of the 12-round bout.

Foreman hit Schulz with a lot of thunderous left jabs but he could never put his punches together and

the challenger was never on the canvas.

On the other hand, while the German could put punches together, he lacked the power to put Foreman down.

Judge Chuck Gassman called it a draw 114-114, while judges Keith McDonald and Jerry Roth favored Foreman 115-113.

For Foreman, who earned \$10 million for the fight shown on the HBO cable network, is 74-4 with 68 knockouts. His record since he ended a 10-year retirement in 1987 in 29-2 with 26 knockouts.

Schulz, not a ranked contender, has a 21-2-1 record with 10 knockouts. He earned \$350,000.

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## Police to question Haberfeld on Histadrut dealings

MICHAEL YUDELMAN and BILL HUTMAN

FORMER Histadrut secretary-general Haim Haberfeld has been summoned for questioning by the police on Wednesday, a senior Histadrut official said yesterday.

The questioning will focus on his alleged use of Histadrut funds during his losing bid for reelection.

The police, who confirmed that Haberfeld will be brought in for questioning, will also summon for interrogation Transport Minister Yisrael Kessar and MK Avi Yezekel.

Last night, police brass met to decide exactly when the two would be summoned.

Yesterday, former Histadrut treasurer Arthur Yisraelovitz and former senior Labor federation officials Meir Gat and Yezekel Ovadia were interrogated by police.

Due to the wide scope of material being examined, however, Haberfeld is expected to be asked for clarifications or at least to present his version of the goings-on.

Kessar and Yezekel's summoning for questioning may be delayed for a few days as it re-

quires a special request to the attorney-general by police.

The material presented to the police by Histadrut leaders arouses suspicions that fictitious invoices for Kessar's and Yezekel's Labor Party primary campaign expenses, and for Haberfeld's Histadrut campaign, were handed to various Histadrut departments to cover, in the guise of Histadrut activities.

This includes the alleged use of Histadrut facilities and services for political gatherings, and the Histadrut's alleged financing of cellular telephones for Haberfeld campaign workers and the surveillance of Haim Ramon's campaign headquarters.

New material concerning the Histadrut's alleged financing Kessar's thank-you ads to party activists, published in several newspapers after the primaries, was transferred to the police last week.

This material indicates that the ads, which cost NIS 32,000, had been ordered and paid for by the Histadrut's media and information section from the Mesarim advertising agency.

## State's witness Tsur: Experienced, amicable, and very clever

BACKGROUND  
RAINE MARCUS

YA'ACOV Tsur, 46, who turned state's witness against Ma'ariv publisher and editor Ofer Nimrodi and others nearly three months ago, is considered one of the country's most experienced private investigators, said many of his former colleagues.

"He taught me all I know in the field," said an investigator who worked with him.

Tsur, a resident of Bar Yam and the father of three, has been described by former colleagues and police investigators alike as pleasant, amicable, and "very clever."

About five years ago, he invented a computerized system to bug faxes, and is considered an expert in security technology.

But his decision to turn state's witness against Nimrodi, Ma'ariv's security officer David Ronen, attorney Motti Katz, and others, was kept secret from his friends and colleagues, and even from his own lawyer. Tsur reached the agreement, via an intermediary, with State Attorney Dorit Beinisch and Police Insp.-Gen. Assaf Hefetz.

The police squad investigating the media wiretapping case was also kept in the dark, except for its chief, Dep.-Cmdr. Avi Cohen,

and another superintendent, who personally took charge of the operation, together with national investigations chief Cmdr. Yossi Levy.

Details of the agreement remain confidential, but sources said that Tsur, as is usual in such cases, will receive a large sum of money, and the 39 counts of illegal wiretapping against him will be dropped.

Tsur's arrest in the media wiretapping case a year ago was not his first entanglement with the law. Over four years ago, 14 private investigators, including Tsur, were arrested on suspicion of receiving confidential information and bribing a tax authority employee.

Two out of the 14—Tsur was not one of them—were indicted only last August, and the trial has not yet begun.

Tsur was not available for comment yesterday.

The atmosphere among Yediot Aharonot and Ma'ariv reporters was described yesterday as "tense and difficult." Yediot editor Moshe Vardi and coordinator Ruth Ben-Ari will probably be summoned for questioning shortly for their alleged role in commissioning wiretapping.

"It's a sad day for journalism," said one reporter.

### Geriatric expert: Incontinence can be cured

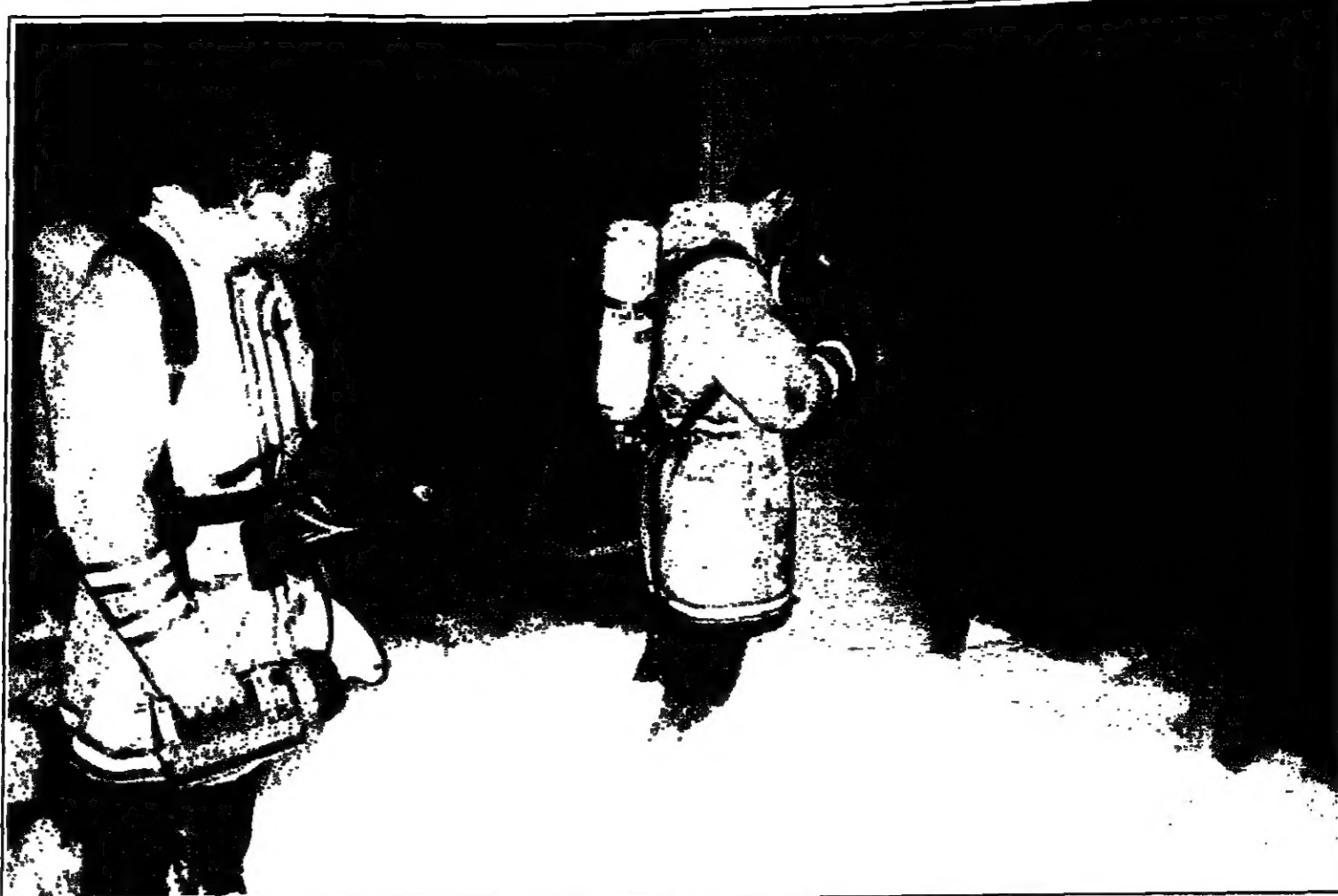
MANY cases of incontinence among elderly patients can be cured or at least eased with special pelvic exercises and medications, according to a renowned geriatric expert from Los Angeles.

Prof. Joseph Ouslander, an expert on incontinence, will speak on the subject at a four-day international geriatric conference

opening today at the Jerusalem Holiday Inn Crowne Plaza.

The conference is being organized by the Herzog Memorial Hospital-Ezrat Nashim to mark its centennial this month.

Other topics to be discussed are euthanasia, Alzheimer's disease, depression in the aging, osteoporosis and aging in Holocaust survivors. Judy Siegel



Firefighters work to bring a blaze under control at the Eshkol B power station in Ashdod yesterday. (Hassid Gritzsky / Israel Sun)

## Worker dies in fire at Ashdod power station

AN Israel Electric Corporation worker was killed yesterday when a fire erupted at the Eshkol B power plant in Ashdod. He was identified as Tuvia Masuda, 56, a 34-year veteran.

Three other workers were lightly injured from smoke inhalation.

Initial investigations indicate the fire, which broke out about noon, was caused by a short circuit. Workers immediately effected an emergency shutdown to prevent further damage.

The on-station fire engine went into action immediately, and was joined a short time later by firefighters from throughout the area. The blaze was brought under control relatively quickly.

Electric Corp. managing director Rafi Peled, board chairman Adi Amoral, and Energy Minister Gonen Segev went to the plant as soon as they heard of the fire. Peled said a team composed of the company's chief engineer and representatives of the Fire Department, police, and Labor Minis-

try would interview all the workers on duty at the time to determine the cause of the fire and the extent of the damage.

Interior Minister Uzi Baram also appointed a commission, headed by Brig.-Gen. (res.) Yom Tov Tamir and including Ashkelon fire chief Yisrael Loew and Shmuel Netael, managing director of Eden Engineering, to determine the cause of the fire and to report on the response of the fire and rescue services. (Itim)

## Three killed, five injured on roads

DAVID RUDGE and Itim

A BOY was killed after being struck by a car while crossing the main road in the Druze village of Yirka, in the Galilee, yesterday morning.

Husam Abu Doleh, aged five, was taken to Nahariya Government Hospital in critical condition and later died of his injuries.

Police said the motorist who brought the youngster to the hospital was apparently the person whose car had hit him. Inquiries into the accident are continuing.

A truck driver, Ayoub Khaled Farres, 34, of the Galilee Beduin village of Tuba, was run over and killed in the fields of Kibbutz Shoval in the Negev.

The accident happened at around 4 a.m., when trucks loaded with green beans were driving out of the field. Farres was standing in the area and was hit by the truck. He was declared dead at the scene. The driver was detained for questioning.

In the afternoon, a worker was crushed to death by a truck in Tuba itself. Police said worker was directing the truck as it was reversing in the back yard of a house in the village. The truck driver was detained for questioning.

A woman was seriously injured in an accident near Ramle that occurred when her husband drove onto the road's shoulder and then veered back into oncoming traffic, hitting another car. The husband suffered light injuries, as did two people in the other car.

In Rehovot, Anna Gerber, 87, was critically injured when she was hit by a bus while crossing the street at a crosswalk. The bus driver was detained and his license was immediately suspended for 60 days, pending an investigation.

## Ministry to clamp down on workplace smoking ban

JUDY SIEGEL

THE Health Ministry says it intends to intensify enforcement of the law barring smoking in the workplace except in restricted areas.

The fine for smoking in the workplace (outside of smoking rooms) is NIS 170; an employer who fails to post a no-smoking sign is charged NIS 340. If the local authorities and the Health Ministry agree, this money will be spent on hiring more inspectors and promoting their

enforcement of the law.

Health Minister Ephraim Sneh and Adi Eldar, chairman of the Center for Local Authorities, initiated a conference, which will be held in Jerusalem tomorrow to discuss enforcement of the law, implemented six months ago. Although the ministry has so far failed to spend anything on publicity campaigns, the law itself has helped reduce the smoking rate from 30 to 27 percent, according to a recent independent survey.

### TAU law school stops unsupervised exams

THE Law Faculty at Tel Aviv University will no longer conduct take-home and other unsupervised examinations, following complaints that students were cheating.

The decision was taken following complaints by some of the students that many students had been cheating, the university spokesman confirmed yesterday.

For the past few years, fourth-year law students had been allowed to sit for exams without proctors being present and even to take home exams and return them later to the lecturer.

These practices were stopped about two weeks ago. Batseva Tsur

### Hopes fade of finding missing Israeli sailor alive

HOPES faded yesterday of finding an Israeli sailor, who went missing from his ship off the US coast on Friday.

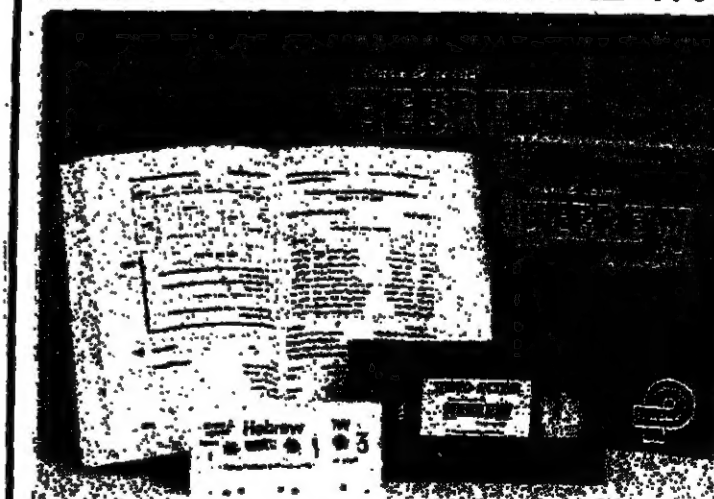
Victor Alexandrov, of Kiryat Yam, served as a ship supervisor aboard the *Zim Israel*. It is believed he may have fallen overboard and drowned.

The incident happened as the vessel was nearing its destination, Savannah, Georgia.

*Zim Israel* Capt. Hillel Yarkoni told Israel Radio yesterday that the vessel and another Israeli ship in the area had scoured the route three times, without finding Alexandrov.

Yarkoni said it would be a miracle if he was discovered in the ocean after being missing for such a long time. David Rudge

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